De vera obedientia.

Anozation ma de in Latine / by the right Reuerẽde father in God Stephã bishop of Wiche stre/now Lozde Chaũ celour of Eng lande.

With the Preface of Edmonde Bonner than Archideacon of Leicestre/and the kinges Maiesties Embassadour in Denmar ke/and now bisshop of London: tou ching true obedience/ Printed at Hãburgh in Latine / in officina ffrãcisci Rhodi Mense Januario/

1536.

And now transla= ted in to Englishe/ and printed eftsones / in Rome/ before ỹ castle of. S. Angel/ at the signe of. S. Peter. In nouembre/ Anno do. M. D. Liij.

The Contentes of Wynchesters boke.

The kige supme head of ꝑ churche.
The bishop of Rome hathe non au
toritie in Englande.
The kinges Mariage with the la
dy Anne / chaste and laufull.
The Diuorce of the lady Katheri
ne done by Goddes lawe. etc.
The autozitie of Goddes wozde /
only to be obeyde.
Mẽnes traditiõs repugne in mos
thinges to Goddes truthe.
The wozd of truthe lay buried /
whã the bish. of Rome ruled here.
The cõmig agayne of light
cõfessed.
Folishe and vnlaufull othes and
vowes not to be kepte.
And other / w̃ these incar
nate deuilles impudẽtly
ãd traiterously goo about
to subuerte at this day.

The Preface
of the trāslatour to ye gentil reader.

I Haue heretofore / wt no small admiracion / readde a certaine Sermon / made in Englshe / before our late soueraigne lorde Kinge Henry theight / about xiiij. years past by doctour Tonstall than bishop of Duresme / and set furthe in Printe / bylike for his owne glorie or rather purgacion / being suspected (and not without cause) to be a favourer of ye pretensed autoritie and antichristian power of the Bishop of Rome (wherof he is bent at this daye with other his complices to shewe him selfe / that Sermon notwstonding / not only to be a frendely favourer / but an open diligent proctour) and a certaine oracion also writtē in Latine by doctour Samson than bishop of Chichestre / and now the doublefaced epicureous bite-shepe of Couentrye and Lichefelde aswell for ye profe and assercion of the Kīges supremacie by the vndoubted truthe of Goddes vnfailīg worde / as of the iuste abrogacion of the said bishop of Romes feyned power out of Englonde.

Tōstal

Sāson

By which Sermon and oracion / I beīge indifferently instructed in the truthe for those day-

es/in som poyntes/can not chose but marvaile somwhat/at this their so sodayne alteracion of mynde and procediges presently sene to al mēnes vnderstonding. Howbeit forasmuche as Tōstall hathe ben lōge reputed a still dreamyng Saturne alwaies ymagyning myschief/ & Samson an idle bellied carnall epicure/ whiche for worldly honour and paltrīg pelfes sake/ hathe ever holden with the hare/and runne with the hounde/as they saye: and if he were biddē/wolde saye/ Christ were an hangmā/ & his father a thefe. I compted not muche vpon them/ nor thought/that their Sermon and oracion proceded of any persuasion of conscience/but to serve the tyme/as the common practice of that foxie generacion is.

Deceyors.

But now of late/ I chaunced to reade an excellent and a right notable Oracione entitled De vera obedientia, made in Latinc about xx. years past/by D. Stephan Gardener than bisshop of winchestre/now lorde Chauncellour and commō Cuttethrote of Englande/touchīg aswel the Kīges supremacie & absolute power (vnder God) of the churche of Englande/and the necessarie divorce (as he calleth it) of the said Kinge Henry theight/from the Quenes mother that now is/together with the laufull

Gardiner.

& chaste mariage (for so he termeth ꝑ mater) had betwene the said King & Muene Anne / to consiste by the vnfailing almightie worde of God: as also concerning the falle feyned autoritie and vsurped power of the bishop of Rome and vnlaufull or vnadvysed othes and vowes: ioyned with the Preface of doughtie doctour Bonner/than archediacon of Leicestre / gapinge to be a bishop/as he is now (by the waye of vsurpacion) of London/ for the commendacio and praise of the same Dracion.

Muen Anne.

Bonne

And forasmuche as Winchestre confesseth in the same/his longe advised deliberacio / before he was persuaded (by the truthe) of the Kinges supremacie: & seing he was the cheaf procurer and labourer/at that tyme / of the Kinges said divorce / and seconde mariage: and now even he with his blowebolle bocherly brother Bonner/ turning like wethercockes erye versie as ꝑ wide bloweth/doo not ouly goo about traiterously to repelle the iuste / & right supreme power & autoritie / incidēt by goddes owne worde and lawe / to the emperiall crowne of Englande/ abusing & bewitching the Muenes graces lenitie and scrupulous perplexitie / but also (like sedicious & most antichristian angeles of Satan) to set vp their father Antichrist

Divorc

Sathās:

of Rome in this realme agayne: I have thought it good / to turne the same Oracion and Preface in to our vulgare tōgue / that every true Englishe subiecte maye plainly beholde / by these mennes frutes / what they them selves are: dissemblers with Princes / to whom they owe their bounden allegeaūce. deceavers of Godes people the Quenes subiectes / for whom Christ hathe sheadde his precious blood / subvertours of good lawes / confoundours of ordre / murtherours of mennes soules / enemyes of their natyve countrey / shameles lyers / bringers in of Idolatrie and superstitious false forged religiō / traitours to ye crowne of Englāde / impudent maynteners of filthie whoredome / blasphemous haters of chaste mariage / covetous catchers / donblefaced piurours / defacers of the nobilitie / cutthrotes of the cōmonaltie / suppressours of Christes true churche / settours vp of Satanes synagoge / merciles pfecutours of Christes flocke / ravenyng wolves in shepes clothig / mockers of Christes glorious Gospel / seruers of tyme / & very ympes of Antichrist.

enemyes

wolves

Now to geve ye certaine notes / to beholde that stowte champion winchestres double periurie and traiterous villanie the better by: thou shalt marke in readig this oration / that he affirmed

at those dayes/ that the bishop of Romes autoritie in Englande/ was against Goddes worde: and now he iuggleth to bring it in agayne.

Than he saide/ ꝑ kinge was ꝑ supreme headde of the churche of Englande next vnder Christe: now he gothe about to impeche the crowne of that supremacie. Than he avouched/ that the kinge might not put awaye ꝑ supremacie from him/ because it is geuen him of God: now his policie is/ to deceave the Quenes highnes therof/ as though it were not geuen of God. A seducer.

Than he affirmed that all true subiectes were dettebounden to defende/ maintene & vpholde/ the supreme autoritie of the crowne: now he wolde have al Englishe subiectes to be forsworne to the crowne/ & helpe in his father of Rome againe. Than he saide/ that mennes traditiõs were for the moste parte repugnaũt to Goddes worde: now he preferreth suche fallepopishe traditiones/ garnishinge them with the name of ꝑ churche/ as though folkes were bounden to credite and obey them/ as muche or more than the bible. Than he prated/ that in the only scriptures was the truthe to be sought for: now the scriptures must be cast out of the doores/ as though they were the chief teachers of vntruthe. Than he confessed that the true light was Traditions.

Than he

hidden / as longe as the bishop of Rome had to doo here: now he and his felowe shaveliges
Dudley saye / and caused Dudley the wicked Duke to declare by his learning and conscience/that the truthe hathe not ben opened/and that Englãde hathe bẽ devided from the catholike faithe and churche/sithence that power was abolished.
Than he affirmed / that the mariage of Kinge Henry theight with the Quenes mother / was vnlauful/and therfore iustly divorced/as of nõ
Maria= age. effecte: now he saithe that ẏ same mariage was lauful by Goddes worde. Than he affirmed / that the mariage of the saide Kinge w̃ Quene Anne/was a chaste & a lauful mariage by God= des worde: now his dedes declare his iudgemẽt to be contrarie. Than he confessed that the said divorce and seconde mariage were done by the vndoubted worde of God / the censures of the most famous vniversities of the worlde/the iud gement of the churche of Englande/and by acte
Parlia= ment. of perliament/ wherof he him selfe was the pro curour in the vniversities/ and in all poyntes a principall doer: now he layeth all the faulte to the Archebishop of Cantorburie / as though it had ben tharchbishoppes only dede. Than he wrote advisedly of a cõscience/ and to be highly regarded with the Kinge: now he is not asha=

med to saye naye and recante / to please and rule the Quene. Than he brake the Quenes headde / in procuring and affirming her to be illegittimate: now he geveth her a plastre / with his recanting and sayeng she is legittimate.
Than he toke him leasure / a fore he wolde be persuaded: now he runneth post haste in to a contrarye Dissuasion. ffrom that tyme hytherto / he confesseth he hathe done wrong in these cases / scilicet / that he hathe ben a traitour a boue these xx. yeares / and now he wolde be taken for a true man / repēting scarse xx. dayes / and that more for feare & ambicious flatterie / than for truthe or conscience. A traitour.
These trickes and many suche like thou mayest easely espie in this Oration and Preface / good rader / wherby thou mayest beware of these incarnate Devilles / Who coulde so advisedly saye yea than / and so impudently / so rashely / so perauredly / and so sleigtily recante and saye naye now. Wherfore / if these be the frutes of holynes / truthe and constauncie (as it can not be denyed) and the speciall practices of these worthy pillers of the malignaunt madame / the Babylonicall holy mother churche: what maye we trust to or loke for / in their littour of Romyshe whelpes? Of gaye Gardiner / blowbolle Bon- Deuyls

ner/vntrusty Tonstall and slowbelied Jamson be no more nymble in coverīg their practices: blame not dronken doctour Weston (for all his burned breche) nor impudent ffeckenham w^t^ ye rest of the sawcie swarme of shaveliges/though their shameles lyeng/careles periurie/and blasphemous iniquitie appeare opēly to all ye world. Therfore like as a mā maie knowe by their present blasphemous procedinges/what traiterous heartes/they have covertly borne all this while to Kinge Henry theight and kinge Edwarde the sixthe heretofore/so maye the Muenes grace and all men beware/how they credite or leane their conscience to them hereafter. Yf these ruffīg Rabyes in their Sermōs & Orationes/saide & wrote ye truthe than: why do ye not abide by it and saye the same still? Yf they erred than: why maye not thei and their scholars erre now? Yf their wordes and writinges were false than/for al their advised deliberatiō: why maye not their sayenges and doinges be as false now/bling post haste and all through ambition? Yf the fathers were false subtill shrewes thā how maye we trust the children now? yea Sir ye make muche a doo with thā & now: be contēt. Than was than/and now is now: downe with your ballarde/and mylke the cowe.

Weston

ffecken ham.

To Kinges.

Well answered/for it is not out of memorie/se
ee dronken burnetailed weston/was at the cost
in his Sermones & lessones/vpon hope of pre-
ferrement to the Diuinitie lecture in Oxeford/
to publishe and affirme/sola fides iustificat: so
that great malice and cõtention arose betwene
him and goggle eied Smyth with dottour Co- Doctor
tes about it in open reading and preaching: but Smith.
now his mastship is content to lose his playnt/
and bothe sola and fides maye goo playe them.
Yet how fayne Smyth was at leyngth to recãte
his errour and to embrace and preache Sola fi-
des iustificat, his solenne printed recantation
is yet to see. The same true doctriue was cõ
firmed also by. D. Oglethorpe/Ramriche/ Papist.
Draicot/Pole/Burne/and almost by all the
rable of them/that now haue quyte banyshed
bothe Solam & fidem. It is not long sence Doc
tour Chadsey subscribed to the Mariage of pes Chad
tes and against Transubstãtiation with a great sey.
sorte moo/which crye out now/Come agayne
to your mother churche and repent you Sacra-
mentaries and votaries/as though it were ne-
uer they. As for Doctour Pinkepotte/that
blenking cockescombe Standishe/which saithe/
he maried ageinst his conscience/it is the lesse
blaunder/seing he is more fitte to make a riding

sole of/than a proctour of the convocation. Tonstall in his written Sermon/chauseth and fumeth agaīst Reynolde Pole / reviling him & calling him the kinges Archetraitour: but now I trust/ he shalbe/ wel come home my lorde cardinall/ with blessinge Godfather. As for Cardinall Pole / by reporte/ Tonstall and Gardiner nether the best of them / is not worthie to wype his shoes/ nether/for learning/judgemēt nor sobrietie of life. But what shoud you speake of our Twofaced Janus childrē? Be not so hasty/ Sir. Tempora mutantur, mores deteriorantur. Et qui veritatē dicit, caput fractum habebit. These be wise men/ and love to slepe in a hole skynne though they both body & soule goo all to the devil. They are so valeaūt souldiours/that these.vi.yeares they have gebē place/ and came in league with the pore Gospelours/almost all the packe of thē / like Gnatones/with ait,aio,negat,nego. And now whan they have espied wikednes to have the vpper hāde / they can kill the man / whan he is knocked downe to their handes. In dede the holy goost revealed somwhat of these helhoundes. holowe traiterous heartes/ to hīge Hēry theight/ whā he left Winchestre in no trust in his testament/ nor allowed him to be of counsaile with his son

Cardi. pole.

the vertuous kinge Edwarde. And coulde the
Muenes hig nes prouide her neuer a godlye
noble or worthie man in all Englãde / to be her
Chauncellour/but him/ that in his open disput
tation and writing/ hathe made her a bastarde A knaue.
her vertuous mother an advouteres/& her most
Royall father an adulterour: and now in publi
ke procedinges/hathe made her most christen bro
ther and all his courte of Parliament aswel no
bles as cõmones no better than heretiques: O
fylthie traitour and pernycyouse pappst/the ve
ry poyson of Englande thys daye. Of a
leane/laysye/ and lecherouse locuste of the bot=
tomlesse pytte/thou art become an outragiouse
lion. And now thou roarest & ragest/as it ware
great Cerber⁹ of helle. If God be not mercyfull Cerber⁹
& ceasse his plage ouer ỹ lãde/ thou art lyke to be
in vtter destruction therunto. Who hath seane
suche stoughtnesse in a beggars brattе / as is
now in the: Well / whan her grace shall percea
ue/ that God hathe troubled her minde/ & cour
ed her realme ynough with suche doublefaced
periured / and impudent traitours as thys her
flatterig Chauncellour is she maye chaunce at
ynght to cõfesse that she hathe made to muche
of a scabbed cuckowes birde. Is ther non other
waye to get Goddes favour/but by snatching a

waye Goddes worde / the breade of life / from
Goddes people. Is ther non other meane to
have a chaste Englande / but to suppresse chaste
mariage / & to advaunce licentious whoremon-
gers in Englande. was the matter wel amended
whan Doctour Coxe was turned out / & whil-
king weston thrust i whych in carnall occuppy
ge brent a woman beggar / in his owne parryst
with out Bysshoppes gate / the whole parryst
to witnesse. It was sumtyme an use at the stue
in Wynchestre rētes that the most fylthie wh
res there dyd brenne their occuppyers. But now
have the whote holy prelates of the bysshop o
Romes clergie in Englande / suche as thys wes
ton is / religiously taken it vp / and are becom
in that arte more commynge than the whore
were. These hungrye whote hunters spare ne
ther pye wenche nor beggar by the waye / but
their fyerie sowderynge tooles they seale thē
the surgeons hādes. O abominable hypocrite
for ther wilfull contempte of christen mariage
God suffereth them to fall into most shamefu
abuses. What face are we lyke to have with
a whyle / of our English churche / if suche be as
Buggerers be thus advaunced to the chefe de
nerues of the realme / and thus ruffle it in th
scarlettes. A great sorte of the Muenes tr

harted subiectes in Englande / thinke it were more mete for wanton westō to be put out for a stalaūt amonge a race of mares vpō the moū-taynes / or to serue the stues than to be allowed free accesse with smirking / and pretie sympring chitte chatte amonge honest ladies: ꝛ more mete to be coupled with his olde packehorse goodwi fe Hugsall in Oxeforde at ꝯ taile of a carte / thā to be reputed and reverenced / as a mayden pri-est / in good Quene Maries courte. The God of al mercies opē the eie of her harte to see the-se fyne mennes frutes in tyme / lest all Englan smarte for it. Hugsall

Were it not better to have Goddes most holy worde published to all English mennes vnder-stonding / and comforte / and his blessed Sacra-mentes ministred as he instituted them / thā to have a popping popishe priest / to pattre he ne-ther woteth what nor ꝯ people that heare him and to worship a litell prety white coted cake / in stede of God made by miracle? O Sir / what is it that these holy helhoundes can not doo by mi racle? It is a more easie miracle for them to saye that the forme of breade is very naturall flesshe and wyne blood / than to set fire in dede vnder a womās cote without cole or candle. Well / i be-seche ꝯ for Christes precious deathes sake good A disar de. D. Wil ston.

reader/not to thinke/that I have pleasur in rai
ling or in carpinge other mennes faultes/but ꝑ
I wolde not have ꝑ soule / deceaved with these
filthie hypocrites: And so I praye the/repentin=
ge from the botome of thy hearte/ cõsidre/ that
this sodaine lamentable alteration of religion &
states/cometh of ꝑ most iuste iudgemẽt of God
for our impenitencie/and vnthankefulnes sake
and for our sinfull abusing of Goddes most ho=
ly sacred worde and sacramentes / to our owne
horrible lustes & wordly respectes: so that whe=
re we wolde not heare and doo after the doctri=
ne of Goddes servauntes the prophetes/which
warned vs of these plagues/it is foũde true by
experience that the holy goste saithe: ffor the si
nes of the people/ God maketh hypocrites (as
these polleshorne shavelinges be) to reigne and
beare the swynge. As for the nobilitie/they
maye remẽbre and knowe by experience / what
this texte (he hathe put downe the mightie frõ
their seate) meaneth: if they will advisedly be=
holde the ordre of Goddes iudgement in them/
because they made a mocke and a taunt at the
preachers in lent last / whose wordes we finde
now most true. Before tyme (the nobles saye)
they were foles to be in awe of one man / the
Duke of Northumberlande: Now / whether

Hypocrites.

Prophetes.

Luc. ij.

they be foles or wisemen / they are in as muche awe or more/to one beast/winchestre. He was a gentilman / as very a tyrannous traitour as he was: this is / after the olde prouerbe: Passus sub Pontio as cutted as an ape, if the father be a Knaue, how shoulde the sonne escape: He hathe ben a worthie souldour/ and a noble captayne / this hathe ben a famyshet of the Kinges souldiours / and alwaies a very cowharde. He vsed the nobilitie after the forme of noble men: this frumpeth them / as if they were his slaues. He represſed the rebelles in Norfolke: this stereth by his dedes / rebellion throughout Englande. He deserued thankes for that seruice doīge: This/al Englande maye curse vnto the worldes ende. He sought to take the crowne traiterously from the Muene: this seketh to pull awaye the autoritie of the crowne frō the Muene & her heires for euer. In his dayes/men were so covetous ẏ they toke some: In this beastes dayes they are so free hearted that they take all. He died like a beast/ as he lyved before: this / except he repent/ can not chose / but goo after. Now Mundus gaudebit, we shall haue a mery worlde: the mater is amended / the devill and all.

A beast

A cowarde.

A traytour.

Marvaile not/ good reader/ that God hathe in

this sodayne cheoppe/taken awaye the libertie of his most pure playne worde/ and the right administration of his blessed sacramẽtes from the people of Englande/ seynge our impeni=tencie and hardenesse of heartes/ and geben them to an other nacion (Scotlãde) that will brig furthe ꝑ frutes of repẽtaũce. Seig we wil nedes be swyne/ God wolde no lõger bestowe his pearles vpõ vs/but geve vs leave to be fede w ꝑ draffe of maling masses/ mũmyg matis drousye diriges/ pykepurse purgatorye/popes ꝑdones/latineseruice/beades belles & baggepipes/ prayẽg to dead Saȳtes/ licige of relikes/ lẽt shrifte/ Benedicite godfather/absolucio̅ behinde ꝑ curtayne/oyle & creame w other supsticious baggage/ ꝑ devill and all: vntill with vnfeyned penitent heartes/ we saye with the vntriftie sonne of the Gospell: Father I haue sinned against heauẽ, and befor the, now I am not worthie to be called thy sonne, make me like one of thy hyred seruauntes. Vnto the which hearti repentaunce/ if we wil joyne vnfeyned faithe/powring out our cõtinual earnest prayers/before the throne of the heauenly grace by Jesus Christ/ we shall finde mercie in time conuenient: and though he scourge vs w these vncircũcised souldiours of Satã for a time

Impenitency.

Luc. xviij.

A scourge.

yet (as Dauid saithe) Whā he is āgrie/he wil remēbre mercie: & restore his blessed Gospel to vs againe with habundaūce of blessing/ in case we will (like obediēt childerne) take his chasti sing in good ꝑte/& paciētly abyde his leasure. Now/to thintent thou mayest playnly beholde and Judge rightly/of these hony mouthed false feynyng flatterours/and auncient enemyes of Christes religion the better and more readily: note Winchestre and Bonner with an indiffe- rent hearte/ in their procedinges and doinges at this daye/ and marke their sayenges in this Oracion folowinge and Preface made at that tyme: & thou shalte sone see their sleightie shif tes of yea Sir/ naye Sir/not as truthe/ but as tyme serueth. And if it like ꝯ to cōferre moo of these practicioners/ buye Tōstalles Englishe Sermon/ and Samsons Latine Oraciō: Thā if ꝯ hearte be not enduratelye locked & cast vp frō discerīng ꝯ truthe/thou wilte thrust thē vp all foure togcther in a Tōbridge sheathe/& blesse ꝯ henceforth frō ꝯ doublefaced viperous ge neracio. The Lorde geve ꝯ vnderstandig in al thiges/good reader/& in ꝯ feare & love of God to lyve cōstātly in true obdiēce/ paciētly abidig his merciful godly wil & alwayes in hī heartily wel to fare.

fflatte- rers.

Shiftes

Cut- throtes.

Edmonde Bonner Archedeacon of Leicestre/the Kinge of Englande his most excellēt Maiesties Embassadour in Denmarke / To the syncere / gentill hearted and godly reader.

FOr almuche as ther be som (doubtles) euen at this present / as it hathe alwaies ben the wont of mennes iudgementes to be variable & diuerse / whiche thike/ the controuersie / that is betweue the Kinge of Englande and of ffraunce his most Royall Maiestie/and the Bishop of Rome/ consisteth in this poīt/ because the Kinges saide Maiestie hathe taken the most excellent and most noble Lady Anne, to his wife: wher as in very dede not with stonding/ the mater is ferre other wise/and nothing so. Wherfore/ to thintent all/ that truly and hertily favour the Gospell of Christ (which that most godly and most vertuous prince/dothe with all diligent endevour/ in euery place aduaūce/ to the honour of almigtie God / and to the profite and commoditie of all christian people) and that hate not/ but lobe the truthe (whiche euery where/ iustly clay

Cōtrouersie.

Gospel.

meth the vpper hande/and to her/all thinges/ though they struggle with her neuer so muche in the begynnyng/yet obeye and geue place at leinght/as mete it is they shoulde) maye the more fully vndrestande the chief point of ẏ cõ trouersie/& because they shall not be ignoraũt/ what the hole voice and resolute determinatiõ of the best and greatest learned bishopes/with all the nobles and commõs of Englande/is not only in that cause of matrimonie/but also in ẏ defendinge of the Gospelles doctrine: this oracion of the bishoppe of Winchestre (a mã excellently learned in all kĩde of learning) entitled De vera obedientia, that is/concerning true obedience/which he made lately in Englande/ shalbe published: but as touchĩg this bishoppes worthie praises/ther shalbe nothing spoken of me at this time/not only because thei are infinite/but be cause they are ferre better knowne to all Christendome/than becometh me here to make rehearsall. And as for the oration it selfe which as it is most learned/so is it most elegant/to what purpose shoulde I make any wordes of it/seĩge it praiseth it selfe ynough/& sence good wyne nedeth no tauerne busshe/to vttre it. But yet in this oration who so ever thou arte most gentill read: thou shalte/

Gyue place.

Wĩchestre.

Oracyi

beside other maters / see it notably & learnedly handled/ of what importaunce and how invincible the power and excellencie of Goddes truthe is: which as it maye now and than be prest sed of enemies / so it can not possiblie be oppressed after suche sorte / but it commeth agayne at leynght behinde the scriene/ more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also/ touchinge obediēce/that it is subiecte to truthe/and what is to be iudged true obedience. Besides this/ of mennes tradicions/which for the most parte are vtterly repugnaunt against the truthe of Goddes lawe. And ther by the waye/he speaketh of the kinges said highnesses mariage/ which / by the rype iudgement antoritie and priuilege of the most and principall vniuersities of the worlde/ and than with the consent of the hole churche of Englande / he contracted with the most cleare and most noble Lady / Muene Anne.

After that touching the Kinges Maiesties title / as perteynyng to the supreme headde of the churche of Englande.

Lastly of all / of the false pretensed supremacie of the Bisshop of Rome / in the realme of Englande/ most iustly abrogated: and how all other bisshoppes / being felowe like to him in

their function / yea and in som poyntes aboue him within their owne Prouinces / were befor tyme bounde to him by their othe. But be thou most surely persuaded of this / good reader / that ỹ bishop of Rome / though ther were no cause elles but this mariage / will easyly cõtent him selfe / specially whan ther is one morsell or other layde to him to slosshe. But whan he seeth so mightie a kinge / beinge a right vertuous and a great learned Prince / so sincerely and so hartily fauour the Gospel of Christ / and perceaueath the yearely rauenous praye (yea so large a praye / that it came to as muche all most as all the kinges reuenues) snapped out of his handes / and that he coulde no longer exercise his tyrannye in the Kinges Maiesties realme (alas it hathe ben to cruell and bitter all this while) nor make lawes / as he hathe done many / to the contumely and reproche of the Maiestie of God / which is euident that he hathe done in tymes past / vnder the title of the catholike churche / & the autoritie of ỹ apostles Petre & Paule (whan notwithstõding he was a very rauenig wolfe dressed in shepes clothig / callig hi selfe seruaũt of seruaũtes) to ỹ great dãmage of the christen cõmon wealthe: A man maye saie / ther begõne ỹ mischief; there of rose these

discordes/these deadly malices / & so great trou
blous bustling. For if it were not thus /
upiter no man coulde beleve / that this Jupiter of
Olympus/which hathe falsely taken vpon him
power wherin is more bragge than hurte/wol-
de have done his best / ẏ this good / and godly /
& right gospellike Prince shoulde be falsely be-
trayed to all the rest of Monarches and Prin-
ces. Nether let it move the / gentyll reader /
that the bishop of winchestre / did not a fore
now applye to this opinion / for he him selfe
in this oration sheweth the cause / why he did
Gna- it not. And if he had saide neuer a worde /
yet thow knowest well / what a wittye parte
it is/for a man to suspende his iudgement/ and
not be to rashe in geving of sentence.
It is an olde saide sawe: Marie Magdalene
pfited vs lesse in her quycke belefe that Christ
was risen / than Thomas that was longer in
doubt. A man maye rightly call him ffabius/
that with his advysed taking of leasure / resto-
red the mater. Albeit I speake not this as
though Winchestre had not boulted out this ca
se secretly with him selfe before hande (for he
boul- boulted it even to the branne lõge a goo / out of
r. doubte) but that rũnyng faire & softly/he wol-
de furst with his paynefull studie / plucke the

mater out of the darke / although of it selfe it was sounde ynough/but by reason of sondry opiniones/it was lapped vp and made darke / & than did he debate it wittyly to and fro / and so at last (after long and great deliberatiou had in the mater) because ther is no better coũsailour than leasure and tyme / he wolde resolutely to his learned and consummate iudgement confirme it. Thou shouldest/gentill reader/estieme his censure and authoritie to be of the more weightye credẽce/in asmuche as the mater was not rashely/and at all advẽtures/but with iudgement (as thou seest) and with wisedome examined and discussed. And this is no newe example/to be agaist the bisshop of Rome /seig that not only this man/but many men many tymes/ yea & right great learned men/ afore now have done the same/eben iu writinges/wherin they bothe paynted him out in his colours /and made his sleightes/falsehead / fraudes/and deceiptfull wyles / openly knowne to the world. Ther fore if thou at any tyme heretofore have doubted either of true obediẽce / or of ỹ kinges maiesties mariage/ or title/either elles of ỹ B. of Romes false pretensed supremacie/ as if thou hadest a good smelling nose/and a sounde iudgement / I thinke thon diddest not / yet having

Coũsel lour.

Marya ge.

readde ouer this oraciō (which if thou fauour the truthe/ and hate the tyrannye of the bishop of Rome and his deuelishe fraudulent falsehead shall doubtles wondrefully content the) throwe downe thyne errour/ and acknowlage the truthe now frely offred the at leyngth/ consideryng with thy selfe/ that it is better late to doo soo/ than neuer to repent. ffare thou hartily well/ most gentill reader/ and not only loue this most valaunt Kinge of Englande and of ffraunce/ who vndoubtedly was by the prouidence of God/ borne to defende the Gospell/ but also honour him/ and serue him most obediently:

As for this wichestre/ who was longe agoo without doubte reputed among the greatest learned mē/ geue him thy good worde with honourable cōmendacions.

Truly saide of a false double faced traitour.

no

An oracio̅ / made in La tyne / by the ryght reuere̅de father in God / Stephan / byshop of winchestre / now lorde chaũchelour of Englãde / tou chinge true obedience / and now trãs lated in to Englishe etc.

AS I cõsidered and secre= tely waied w̃ my selfe ye̅ present state of ordres in ye̅ churche of Englande wherin / wha̅ I sawe ye̅ very many thinges, w̃ (whether it were lõge of me̅ or of times) haue bene of lõge season cõfu sely iõbled together somthinges blemished / & som thinges decayed / & almost turned quite vp side do wne / were by ye̅ ꝑfite lyne & plũmet of Goddes worde / called agai̅ / layde a newe / & restored vn to ye̅ auciẽt foũdacios of Goddes worke: and ca me in to my minde (eue̅ w̃ a certai̅ reuere̅t admi racio̅) the invincible power & excellẽcie of god= des vnfailig truthe / w̃ (albeit it semeth now & tha̅ vnto mãnes ꝑsuasio̅ to susteine vy sore & lõ ge endurig ouerthrowes) yet it remaineth euer hoole / cõstaũt & certay̅: & though it be darkened w̃ mẽnes sleighty iugglinges / & coũtrefait craf tes / as it were w̃ certayn mystes for a while yet at the tyme of God appoynted / it bursteth out agayne and sheweth it selfe clearely / like the

Psalm. Lj.

sonne / whan darkenes is bannished and chaced awaye: ẏ God may be founde Juste in hys saienges / and haue the victorie whan he is Judged.

Mīchestre zelous in ẏ defēse of the lawe and lettre.

And I doubt not/but many bothe learned/grave/ and right good men were in the selfe same / or not muche vnlike thought that I was in: & wher they haue ben tangled with a certain folishe and cankred vile supersticion / and haue wrastled against the truthe / of a longe time / this advised consideracion hathe pulled awaye all their scrupulous doubtes/and by the workinge of Goddes grace / hathe conveyed and brought thē in to the light of the true veritie. And to confesse playnly of my selfe / wher I was a very earnest setter furthe and defendour of the lawe and of the lettre/ as I mayeso saye and wher I coulde doo nothing with a worse will nor more against my mynde/ than to shrinke from any thinge that I had ben before persuaded in / what so ever it were: the further that my Judgement swarved from the truthe in that behalfe/so muche the more vehementlye & eagrelie me thought I was astonied/whā I knewe ẏ truthe: even as a mannes eies beig dulled ẇ darkenes /are wōt to be amased at sodayne brightenes/whā ẏ light breaketh out.

Whan you were so lōg in receauing the truthe / what causeth you now/ after so long tyme so daily to leape frō it.

For I had not the gift/ that Paule vndoubtedly had/who/as sone as God had ouer throwne him/fell downe/ and spake the wordes of obediēce /sayeng/ Lorde, what wilte thou haue me to doo? For that chosen vessell had so muche pleyntye of the grace of God/that he cōfessed by and by / it was the voice of God / that checked him / and called him from his errour / and so commytted him selfe hoolly to the governaunce of God / and obeyde him in all truthe / and did after him in all poyntes without any more adoo. But as for me (albeyt my Judgemēt hathe bene alwaye/ that the truthe ought to be obeyde / which doubtles dothe come all together of God) yet in the discussing and triall of the truthe/I did not so easely content my selfe. But I so framed my selfe/ ẏ/as it had bē in askinge the Judgemēt of al my senses onles I perceaved / ẏ I furst of all heardethem wmyne eares/smelled them at my nose sawe/ them w my eyes/ and felte them with my handes / I thought I had not sene ynough: to the intent I might submyt and captiuate the wytte of my vnderstondinge to the truthe/ as though I had throughly perceaved and knowne it.

Act. ix.

Wichestre circūspecte in tryēg the truthe thā.

This my leasure taking / which some perchaūce recken for a to muche obstinate rebelling /

my mȳde is not to ascribe vnto myn owne wise dome or grauitie / lest any man wolde thinke / I were fayne (as they saye) to praise my selfe / for lacke of good neighbours: But I doo most cōstauntly affirme and impute it (as right is) vnto the sondry working of God / in setting furthe the truthe / of whom / all men / whan they are taught which be taught in dede / according to this sayeng. Joā. ix. And ye shalbe all taught of God: as euery one shall fele him selfe affected in assenting vnto the truthe / so maye he talke and make playne mencion. But as for the causes / whye this man embraceth the knowlege of the truthe whan God offreth it / more spedily / that man more slowly / and an other man neuer in all his life / it is nether geuen to men alwayes to perceaue / nor permitted to searche out / farther than is expressed in scriptures.

Not to be searched further thā is expressed in scriptures.

So that myne intent is not / presently to rēdre the cause of my slackenes / or to clayme that advised leasure taking / as a proper inwarde gifte of myne owne / which were not only a token of folishnes with mē / but also a very wyckednes towardes God: but I wolde rather yelde accōpte to the worlde / what it was / that chaunged myne opinion so muche / and what caused me now at leyngh / to dissent from my selfe / and

from myne owne former wordes and dedes.
And in dede (to tell you at a worde) that compelled me / that compelled all men / whan God seeth his tyme / euen the myghtye power of the truthe / wherunto all thinges at leyngh obeye and doo ther after.

Nou I desire and hartely praye the / gentill reader / to beare frendly with me / in speaking of true obedience / and suche thinges / as for thy sake / the rules either of Rhetorike or Logike / require of a writer ẏ is / ẏ I shoulde / at ẏ beginnyng / geue the occasion either to be lovingly bent / or fytte to be instructe / or elles to be attẽtyve / ẃ as yet I have nothing done / yet geve thẽ to me agayne / as if thou haddest receaved thẽ / and forgeve me thẽ / as though thou were perfitly payed of them in dede.

For seinge I perceave that I have obeyed truly / in acknowlageinge the truthe / I can not chose / but set furthe somthinge openly / touching true obedience / and though I am not hable to speake of it / according to the worthynes of the thinge / yet myne endeavour shal be to speake it openly / and open it plainly.

And to come spedely to my purpose: I thinke / that to obeye truly / is nothing elles / but to obey vnto the truthe.

Truthe cõpelled winchestre to forsake his fa ẏr of Ro. nay forsothe a fatte bisshoprick bnt yet he loued hĩ neuer ẏ worse in his harte:

Truthe to be sought only in scriptures.

And God is ỹ truthe (as scripture recordeth) wher in he geveth his chief lighte vnto vs / so muche / that who so euer seketh it in any other place / and goth about to fette it out of mennes puddles and quallmyres / and not out of the most pure and cleare fountayne it selfe / they drawe & bringe vp now and than / I wote not what / fowle and myrye geare / vneffectual and to no purpose / for the quenching of mennes thirstie desires / which perteigneth all together properly vnto the truthe it selfe. ffor it is only he / that geveth vs the holsom water of the truthe / wherof / he that drinketh / in obeyeng the faithe which Jesus Christ hathe published / he shall also bringe furthe the frute of true obedience / so that he shall neuer be thirstye.

ffor albeit God in the olde lawe / whan he had determined in slaine sacrifices and offringes / to shaddowe and signifie / his owne syncere and pure service and honour (which the true worshippers should doo now in spirite and truthe) and for that cause gave strait commauudemēt / ỹ those slaine sacrifices and oblaciones shoulde be had in highe honour and devociō / to shewe / how muche more dearely he estemed obediēce / he hathe manifestly declared in many places of the scriptures / ỹ he setteth more by obedience /

than by all oblaciones & sacrifices. ffor so speaketh Samuel out of the spirite of God / vnto Saul: Wolde the Lorde haue offrynges ād sacrifices (sayethe he) and not rather that the Lordes worde shoulde be obeyed? Obedience is better, than burnt offrynges, and to take heade, is more, than to offre the fatte of rammes. Moses also in Deuteronomio, commending obedience vnto the people / sayethe: So (sayth Moses) I set before your faces this daye, blessinge and cursinge. Blessinge, if ye obey vnto the commaundementes of the Lorde your God, which I cō maunde this daye: and cnrsinge, if ye doo not obey. Of this true obedience Saint Paule maketh mēcion / in these wordes writig to the Romaines / where he saithe / he receaved grace and apostleship / that faythe might be obeyde amonge all people, etc. ffor faythe requyreth obedience / that is that we acknowlageinge the will of God in Christ / which is the worde of the father / & beinge made partakers of the grace of god / by his merite / shoulde also / through the same Christ our lorde / bothe beleue in obeyeng / and obeye in belebing. And who so euer putteth his perfite belefe and hope in God / loketh for rewarde at his only hā

1. Regum xv.

Deu. xj

Rom j.

ffaithe requireth obedience. Than a trne faith maketh no recony̆g of his owne workes.

des / and without God compteth not vpon his owne workes / and dedes / but poynteth them their limites / so that he rendreth them vnto God / as though they were done of God / from whom al good thinges procede / and acknowlageth God to be the only begynnyng and fynysshing of all goodnes: that man is doubtles he / that maye be sayde / to obeye truly / that is to saye / in folowing the truthe / and for truthes sake in contemnyng all thinges / that this deceaueable worlde / is wont bothe to make shewe of / and to magnifie.

And to thintent mankinde shoulde clearely and playnly / not only with eares / but also with eies / vnderstande and see this truthe of obedience / that is to saye / to thintent as many as are children / shoulde be drawne / bothe outwardely / and inwardely / of the heavenly father / to atteyne that truthe: the worde (Jesus Christ) proceded from the father in to the virgine / and taking vpon him a very true and a mortall body / became flesshe / and the very same / bothe God and man dwelt among vs / shewing his glorie in signes & power as the glorie of the only begotten son of the father / and tolde vs playnlye of God / whom no man hathe sene at any time / and went before / and

Joan. j.

No man hathe sene God / at any tȳ

shewed vs the true wayes of obedience / that lyke as by the disobedience of one man / many became synners / so by the obedience of one / many shoulde be made righteous / and that / deathe (wō the synne of disobedience brought in) beynge ouercome / men shoulde truly lyue in dede / in Christ / by vertue of obedience.

ffor to beleue surely in God / and to cleaue constauntely vnto him / which the scripture calleth a righteous mannes lyfe / is doubtles to obey him / and in exercising obedience / to chasten the body / to bring the flesshe in to seruitute / to subdue the kingdome of synne / as muche as lyeth in vs: to depende of God / to make our membres seruaūtes of righteousnes / to set light by our owne commoditie / and for Goddes sake / to care for other mennes / to trust that God hi selfe wil be our rewarde / and without God / or besides God / to compte nothing pleasaunt or delectable. Matth. xxij. Exo. xx.

This is to loue the Lorde / with all our hearte / which is a gelous God / that can not awaye with any man / that serueth euery maister / but he requireth to haue the man all holle to him selfe / and not to be hewen in peces / to serue two diuerse maistres commaundementes / but he will be only worshipped / and

Goddes secret will reueled in Christ.

he wilbe only served of them that be his. This secret will of God/being (by his vnseat cheable devise) hiddē from the begynnyng/is now in the ende of the world/reveled vnto vs/ by our Christ/ the slayne sacrifice and raūsom of mankynde/ who in appeaceing the most iustly deserved wrathe of God/ hathe declared the holsom doctrine of obedience in his dedes/ and hathe suffred for vs/leaving vs an ensample/ ẏ we shoulde folowe his fotesteppes/ ẇ if we will considre/we shall playnly fynde/ that to be true obedience/ which (all other maters set aparte) executeth and practiceth the will of God/exprest to mankȳde in the worde/ which is Christ/and being stered vp of god/ ascribeth also the effecte & ende vnto god/ which geveth the gifte/bothe to wil and to worke/according to his owne good will. Therfore whan Christes mother troubled him/as he was teaching in the temple/and occupied in the office of true obedience/ Doest thou not knowe, quod he, that I must nedes be about my fathers busynes? to shewe manefestly/ that evē the affeccion of nature/ ought to obey the will of God/ that nothing ought to be done/before the commaundement of God/by obedience. As the father commaunded me (saithe he) so I doo

Joan xiiij.

And in an other place/ I am not sent, but vn- Mat.xv
to the lost shepe of the house of Israel: she-
wing therby/ ỳ nothing ought to be desired/ ỳ
shoulde blemyshe the office of true obedience.
Whan the houre of Christes passion drewe ne
re/and whan he had made that forme of pray-
er/ that shoulde be most cõvenient for our wea
ke frayltie/ at the peril of deathe/ Father, if it
be possible, let this cuppe passe from me:
he added straightwayes (to declare the victory Matth.
of obedience/more playnly) Not as I will, but xxvj.
as thou wilte. Which his fathers commaunde
ments/ God the sonne obeyed to the vttermost
in the mysterie of our redempcion/ to shewe vs
how we shoulde obeye/and because (as the ol-
de sayde sawe is) we shoulde not spill the wine
with powring in water/ and lose all the frute
of obedience/ he hathe also with his owne most
true and most certayne wordes/ taught vs in
an other place (and performed the same also
in his dedes) that he sought not his owne glo
rie/ through his obedience/ but his fathers. I
(saithe he) seke not myne owne glorie, but
my fathers. If I (saythe he) glorifie my selfe Joan.
my glory is nothing. And in an other place/ viij.
he geveth vs more playne warning of this/ say
eng/ Let your light (saythe he) so shine be-

Mat.v. fore men, that they may glorifie your father, which is in heauen. If we truste vpon commendacion or vayne glorie at mennes handes / we lose our rewarde / and shall appeare one daye before the presence of almightie God / with emptie vesselles like the folishe virgines / and shall suffre a most grevous repulse of the spouse at his comming. Therfore let not thy left hande knowe what thy right hande dothe: left hande mater is vngayne / and wicked what soo euer procedeth of the flesshe. Doo not therfore defyle nor marre Goddes maters with mannes devises / but obeye secretly from the flesshe / and God shall rewarde the in secrete.

Take hede of þ be tyme ther fore.

Mat. cxv.

Mat.vj Defile not goddes maters wt þ deuyses of men.

And herevnto I suppose it maye be applyed / that .S. Paule writteth / sayeng: Not he that is a Iewe openly, is a Iewe: nether is the circuncision of the flesshe, that is done openly, circuncision, but he that is a Iewe secretly, is a right Iewe, and the circuncision of the hearte, is the circuncision, that consisteth in the spirite, and not in the lettre, whose praise is not of men but of God.

Rom.ij.

Let the lorde therfore be bothe our parte / and the hole summe of our enheritaunce / who only shall restore a sure enheritaunce vnto vs: that is to saye / let vs obey God for Goddes

Psalm. xvj.

sake / which only is true obedience: which re-
turneth thider / whence it came / and wher it
proceded of truthe / it gothe in to truthe / and is
conteyned of all one beginnyng and endinge.
By this maner of ordre / it semeth that Saint
Paule set furthe the rule of obedience / whan Col. iij.
he badde servauntes / be obedient vnto their
maistres for Goddes sake / declaring playnlye /
that God is the author and rewarder of that
iuste obedient seruice / that seruauntes doo vn-
to their bodily maisters: so that what so euer
shall certainly appeare to be done in his name /
we maye not doubte / but he will accepte and
take it in good parte. And according therto /
it appeareth to be written in the Gospell:
Blessed shall you be, whan men hate you,
and persecute you etc. For the sonne of Mat. v.
mannes sake, reioyce and be gladde, for
your rewarde is great in heauen. ffor if we
suffre buffetting iustly for our faultes (as .S.
Petre saithe) what gramercie is it to vs?
ffor ỹ is exhibited vnto ỹ lawes & not vnto god /
even as that is not worthy of any rewarde at
Goddes hãde / how godly so ever it seme in out-
warde appearaũce / ỹ hunteth after any earthy
mater / glorie / or estimaciõ of mã / w̃ is ỹ ꝑpre-
tie of hypocrites / vnto whõ ỹ sayeng of God is

mēcioned: Thou haste rceaued thy rewarde.

The cur of god Two ma ter of wayes.

For so shall the man be cursed/that dbeyeth not God/ which happeneth two maner of wayes/ either whan we put the commaundementes of God in practyce in outwarde shewe before mē/ or elles for ambicious vayne glorye / or vauntage sake / wherof I have spoken somthing allready before. As for the finall iudgement of this mater/God hathe particularly reserued it vnto him selfe / to be pronounced at the daye of his iuste iudgement / most earnestly inhibiting vs/ that we pronounce not rashely of any mannes hearte in that behalfe/yea/thouh they doo al together as evil/as we have done in this kynde of synne/as he hathe not prohibited men to talke of all thinges/ or in that/ that men are permitted to iudge of/ whan we cloke true obedience with countrefait obedience/ and neclecting that/ that God commaundeth we provide vs other ware to kepe vs occupied withall/turnyng the deafe eare to that most sore sentēce of Goddes truthe: In vayne doo you worship me, in the commaundementes and doctrines of men, seyng you haue broken my præceptes for your owne tradicion.

Goddes commaundement not to be clocked by men-les. Mat.xv

And to the intent we doo not soo / we ought furst of all to take hede / that we kepe surely

that marke / which is certai and is signed with the fyngre of God / wherby we may make a distinctiō betwene Goddes cauſes and mannes / that they be not ſhuffled together. ffurſt of all therfore / recken vpon this for a certayntie / that the talke of God / conteyned in the holy ſcriptures / by the declaracion of the holy gooſt / doth repoꝛte vnto vs the moſt certayn true woꝛde of God / that we maye therby vnderſtande & learne his will / and the certayntie of his commaundementes and doctrine / to the intent / beīge inſtructe that waye of commaundementes / we may goo ſtraight to ỹ coūtrey euerlaſting.

Than Sir / what is commaunded in thē? Many thinges are commaūded in them ſurely: wherof ſom thinges in the olde teſtamēt were chiefly ſpoken / not to iuſtifie the ſoule inwardely / but for the keping of the people in oꝛdꝛe / which in this newe people regenerate in Chriſt / are banyſhed awaye euen as it were by the light of truthe ſuccedinge darkenes / which it were ſuperfluous / aud not to the purpoſe / to treate of at this preſent / forſomuche as myne intent is to ſpeake only of thoſe preceptes / which God determined to ſignifie / not vnto ane only ſoꝛte of people / but by one ſoꝛte of people / vnto all nationes / wherof not ſo muche as

one iote or one title coulde be pretermitted.
And these/of som men are called/ morall preceptes/which/ forasmuche as they perteigne also to holynes and chastitie of life and maners/thei are denied to abide still perfitily in their full streynght & vertue. And ther of we maye be persuaded / as well by many other places / as namely by this place of the gospell / wher Christ teaching the people / pronounceth so playnly / ẏ we shall not entre in to the kingdome of heavē/onles our righteousnes excede the righteousnes of the scribes and Pharisees. In which sayeng/albeit Christ did not altogether allowe the righteousnes of the Pharisees / because it was only a humayne and a carnall righteousnes / that is to saye / it consisteth in outwarde hypocrisye of dedes / and sprong not out of that fountayne of the spirite / whom the only grace of God (in the same Christes merites) causeth to spowte water : yet by this conference/ we take it/ that he shewed and admonished vs/the pure behaueour / which the lawe required in the Scribes and Pharisees / and not to remitte nor to set it at lybertie by the doctrine of the Gospell / but by that significacion of wordes / to enlarge the limites of holynes and chastitie / and to require

the encreace and gooing forewarde therof / in this newe lawe of the Gospel. ffor the libertie which is geuen vnto vs by the Gospel / and is thought tohaue abrogated Moses lawe / perteineth not to that intēt / ẏ we may forgete the morall preceptes and haunt a light dissolute / & filthie maner of life / but ẏ we shoulde be free from synne / & become the seruaūtes of righteousenes / and that / loke what the will of God / teacheth vs in the scriptures / to tēde vnto godlynes / we shoulde haūte ẏ / and embrace that / accordīg to goddes cōmaundemēt / so as the state of our obedience maye be cōstauntly certayn of the which morall preceptes in the olde lawe / to speake of som (for my purpose is not to make present rehersal particularly of thē all) the Leuiticalle preceptes / touching forbiddē & incesteous mariages / as ferre as thei cōcerne chaste and pure wedlocke / wher in the hole custome of mannes life is conteyned / and the originall fonntayne of the encreace of people consisteth / are alwayes reputed to be suche sorte / that being in dede geuen furst to the Jewes / (because they shoulde be declared to advaunce the Law of nature) they shoulde perteyne to all maner of people in the hole worlde forevermore. Wher in doubtles / bothe

The kin ges ma= riage wt lady An ne chas= te and lawful / you say / and he coulde not by Goddes law ha= ue the la dy Ka= therine. (·). Thā ye bish. of Can= torbury was not all ye doer / but ye church & perlia ment.

the voice of nature and the commaundement of God / have forbidden / what so euer is cōtra rie to the condicion of them bothe.

☞ And amōge these / seing / ther is a cōmaun dement that a man shall not mary his brothers wife / what ought or coulde the king of Englā de his most excellēt Maiestie haue done / other wise than .(·). by the hole cōsent of ye people / & judgement of his churche / he hath done? that is / that he shoulde be dyvorced from vnlawful mariage / and vse laufull and permitted cōpula cion: and obeyeng (as mete it was) cōforma blye vnto the commaundement / he shoulde cast of her / whom nether lawe nor right permitted him to retayne / and take him to chaste and law full mariage. Wherin /. C. for afmuche as the judgement of goddes worde might haue suffi= sed / wher vnto all mē ought to obeye without stopping or stayeng / yet the kinges most royal Maiestie was content to have the assisting con sentes of men of notable gravitie / and the cen= sures of the most famous. D. vniuersities of ye world. And all to the intent / that men shoul / de thinke / he did / that he bothe might doo / and ought to doo vprightely wel / seing ye best lear ned and worthy good men haue subscribed / vn to it: and that he shewed such obediēce in so do=

ing/ as the truthe of goddes worde / semeth to require of euery godly and good man / so as it might be sayde that he bothe obeyde God/ and obeyde truly: of whom / forasmuche as I am purposed to speake/ I could not passe ouer w̄ silence/that/ that occasiō had commodiously offred/vpon this mater.

But let vs returne to the purpose/which chiefly standeth in this poynt/that/ we shewe/ that he obeyeth truly / which walketh in the lawe of the lorde and blenchet not out of the waye of Goddes commaundementes/but with an humble and willinge hearte committeth him selfe to Goddes will/neuer to refuse the autoritie of God/and to obey bothe him and al thē/ whom God commaundeth him to obey for his sake. In dede/God /according to his exceding great and vnspeakeable goodnes towarde mankynde/ to encreace habundaunce of glorie in vs / wherby he might establishe present mater for vs/ to exercise our selues godly and thākeworthyly in/substituted mē/ who being put in autoritie as his vicegerentes/shoulde require obedience/ which we must doo vnto them w̄ no lesse frute/for Goddes sake/than we shoulde doo it (what honour so euer it were) immediatly vnto God him selfe.

it were so by goddes worde thā why doo you say nay now? Why dothe D. Ki ley lye i prisō if this ora cion be true? se by your double sayēges you are a dou ble trai tor & a very w thercoo ke.

Princes represet Goddes Image/ & excell all mē. j. Pet. ij Pro. viij.

And in that place he hathe set princes / whom/ as representours of his Image vnto men / he wolde haue to be reputed in the supreme / and most highe / rowme / and to excelle amonge all other humayne creatures / as Saint Petre writeth; and that ꝑ same princes reigne by his autoritie / as the holy Prouerbes make reporte By me (sayth the God) Kinges reigne / in so muche / that after Paules sayeng / who so ever resisteth power / resisteth the ordinaūce of God. Which Paule openyng that playnly vnto Titus / which he speaketh here generallye / commaunded him / to warne al men / to obeie their Princes. And ther be other men appoynted also of God / to require obedience / howbeit in an inferiour ordre. ffor the wife beinge in subiection to her husbande / the seruant to the maister / and to whom so euer any mā is in subiection / they must also obey their gouernours for Goddes sake. Wherof it chaunceth now and than that som men / not vnderstanding ꝑ sense of Goddes lawe rightly / stande in doubt / whan two gouernours commaundemētes geuen at all one selfe same tyme / varye / and be contrary and manifestly repugnaunt one to ꝑ other / whether of them ought furst and most principally to be obeyde.

As for example: The maister biddeth the ser uaunt doo a thinge/ and the kinge commaun= deth him to do a cleane contrary thinge/and bo the at one tyme / and in one moment.

And forasmuche as they ought bothe to be obei de for goddes sake / by the worde of God / the very nature of thinges/can not admitte/bothe their commaundementes/to be applied in at al one selfe same time/ and of al one selfe same mā here in like as it might perchaunce be doubted of som mā that hatheth not yet his wittes/ mu che exercised / whether of them the seruaunt is bounden chiefly and most principally to obey / euen so vnto him/ that marketh wel other like causes/the solucion of suche a question shall a= non playnly appeare / that nature it self fra= meth the mater so / that ỹ inferiours must also serve and geve place to the superiours.

Therfore in this propoūdeth example / the ser haunt must not obey his maister / but the kin= ge /as his superiour mayster / as him / whom bothe / the maister and servaunt are bounden to obeye.

And for asmuche as we acknowlage / that ther is one above bothe the servaunt/maister / and kinge / even God/ whiche is the Kinge of Kī ges and Lorde of Lordes/ of whom al thinges/

All men ought to obey Goddes cõmaundemẽtes though Princes cõmaunde a contrary.

thinges/by whom all thinges/and in whom all thinges are: his cõmaundemẽtes all men ought to obeye/ principally and afore all thinges/ bothe seruaunt/ maister/ & kinge: that they may appeare/ to haue obeide all men for Goddes sake/ but nomã without God/ nor against God. Therfore is the wife praised that obeyeth her husbande/ yea/ vnto deathe. ffor it is better to obey God than men.

Act. b.

Thus in asmuche as it is manifest/ ẏ an ordre ought to be kept in obedience/ and that our duetie is to obey euery one chiefly/ after such sorte/ as he excelleth other in ordre and prerogatyue by the testimonie of Goddes lawe: I thinke it requisite for me (seinge I am speaking of the necessarie degree of ordres) to touche also in this place/ that cause/ which is cõmonly in vre/ and spoken of at this daye almost in all mennes handes and in all mennes mouthes: whether ẏ hole consent of Englishe mẽ be grounded vpon Goddes lawe/ in that they declare and honoure the most victorious and most noble prince Henry theyght Kinge of Englande and of ffraunce/ defendour of the faithe/ and Lorde of Irelande/ to be in earthe the supreme headde of the churche of Englande/ and is graunted vnto him/ by autoritie therof/ in the open courte of

The Kinges supremacie groũded vpõ Goddes lawe.

parliament / frely to vse his right / and to call him self supreme headde of the churche of Englande / aswell in name as in dede. Wherin / ther is no newely invented mater wrought / only their will was / to haue the power perteinyng to a prince / by Goddes lawe / to be the more clearely expressed / with a more fitte terme to expresse it by / namely for this purpose / to withdrawe that countrefait vayne opinion out of the common peoples myndes / which the false pretensed power of the bishop of Rome / had / for the space of certain yeares / blinded thē withall / to the great impeaschement of the kinges autoritie / which all men are bounden to wishe / and to their vttermost power / see kept safe / restored and defended from wronges. Wherin surely I see no cause / why any man shoulde be offended / that the kinge is called the headde of churche of Englande / rather than the headde of the realme of Englande. Here now I appeale vnto the / gentill reader / to set aparte the termyng of terme wordes in the meane season & to weyghe the mater selfe. ffor I am not ignoraunt / of the force of bothe the mannor of speches / and that this worde (churche) signifieth not euery congregacion / but with an adiection (as / I hate the malignaūt churche) but

All men boūde to defēde their princes supremacie: than he not to suffre it to be pulled frō the crowne though ye Quene wolde forgoo it.

What ye churche is.

that only multitude of people/ w beinge vnited in the profession of Christ/ is growne in to one body. ffor this came in by custome / that this terme/church/ which elles is a commō terme/ became (notwithstonding) the propre name of a more excellent bodye. But this worde (Realme) is more playnly knowne/and comprehendeth all subiectes of the kinges dominions/ who so euer they be/ and of what cōdicion so euer they be/whether the be Jewes/ Barbarianes/ Saracenes/ Turkes or Christianes.

Than / seinge in this mater / which I haue in hande/the mater that is mēt by it/ is of such sorte/that is agreeth indifferently with bothe maner of speches / and seinge the churche of Englande consisteth of the same sortes of people at this daye/that are comprised in this worde/realme/ of whom / the kinge his called the headde: shall he not / beinge called the headde of the realme of Englande / be also the headde of the same men/whan they are named the churche of Englande? Shall the termynge of wordes/inasmuche as they haue nō other vse/but to signifie the thinges/be of suche force in this cause/as to turne the nature of the thinges them selues vp side downe? that one man shoulde be taken in his estate of beinge/ and an other in his estate /

all one according to the diuersitie of names? I knowe wel ynough/that/by relaciō of names/ ẏ offices are somtymes chaūged/and ẏ the selfe same al one mā/as he is called by this name or ẏ name/ must also doo the partes of office agreig to that name. But if the kinge be the headde of the realme/ ẏ is as muche/as a mā wolde saye/ he hathe so many/ as are within the dominiō of the realme/ vnited al vnto hī selfe / as vnto one body / ẏ they maye take him for their supreme headde/ cā it be by any possible meanes/throug the mutacion of the name/for all one selfe same man/to be in subieccion to this headde/and not to be in subieccion to this headde/in all one kinde of subieccion/ẏ is to saye/for Goddes sake? For ther is no subiecciō against God. What a folye were it than/ for a man to confesse/that al one man (if ye lust to call him Johan) dwellīg in Englāde / is in subiecciō to ẏ kinge/ as vnto ẏ headde: & if ye call hī a christiā/ of ẏ same sorte/to saye ẏ he is not a subiecte? For in ẏ his abidīge is in Englāde/he is of ẏ realme/& in ẏ he is a christiā/ dwellīg in Englande/ he is demed to be of the churche of Englande. They kinge (saye they) is the headde of the realme but not of the churche: wheras/notwstondīg/ẏ churche of Englāde/ is nothing elles/but ẏ cōgregatiō

The kin[illegible] beinh head of the real[illegible] me mus[illegible] also be ẏ head of ẏ church

ỹ chur che / is bothe of ỹ laytie and cler gye.

of men and women / of the clergie and of the laytie / vnited in Christes profession: that is to saye / it is iustlie to be called ỹ churche / because it is a communion of christen people / and of the place / it is to be named / the churche of Englande / as is the churche of ffraunce / the churche of Spayne / & the churche of Rome. So ỹ they / which confesse the kīge to be supreme heade of the realme / and yet graunt him not to be supreme headde of the churche (on Goddes name) beinge one congregacion in the same realme (whiche is either their owne ignoraunce / or their owne malice) this is their playne meaning / that the kinge is the heade of the vnfaithfull / and not of the faithfull: except the kinge / him selfe be an infidele / that either an infidele kinge dothe beare rule ouer a faithfull or vnfaithfull people / or elles the same kīge copulīg him selfe to the Christian churche / geueth ouer (from thencefurthe) his autoritie and power. I wōdre excedingly / that any suche one is foūde / that can meane thus: and yet I can not finde / what thaduersaries haue to saye / for thē selfes / but thus / As for any other sure and grounded allegacion / they bringe non / but suche as hengeth to gether in no pointe / nor agreeth wt it selfe. The kīge (say they) is headde of ỹ

realme/but not of the churche. O what an absurde and folishe sayēg is that? As though / because the people begynneth now to beleve in God/it were a iust cause/ why they shoulde be no more in subiecciō to the kinge/ Goddes liefe tenaunt/but be exempte quyte from his body. But Paule taught not so/ which sayde/that ꝑ autoritie of maistres ouer their seruaūtes sholde not be chaūged or dyminished through profession of Christ / but warned them to kepe it still in perfite autoritie/ bidding servaūtes/ to be obedient vnto their bodily maisters for godes sake. Theronuerting of a wife vnto faithe/ withdraweth nothing from thautoritie of her husbande/ for he is the headde of the wife/ still/and because she / after she had professed ꝑ faithe / shoulde shewe no token of mysorde/ wherby she might plucke the mȳdes of som frō religion/ Saint Petres mīde was/ that wives having professed the faithe/shoulde leave of ꝑ office of preachīg / which they executed by wordes/ and winne (without ꝑ worde) their husbandes through their chaste conversacion. Therfore / the autoritie of the Maistre / towardes the servaunt / and the right of the husbandes superiorītie ober ꝑ wife / is not lost by ꝑ meane of religiō: & shal it be lost to ꝑ kīge?

If they beginne to beleue but now / than their belefe was no belefe / before now.

Col. iij.

who / forasmuche as he (yea though he be an infidele) representeth/as it were the ymage of God vpō earthe/ so that he is called the headde and the guyde of the people / shall his state be nypped of because of the christian profession? & shall he be called no more the headde of the people/ which is the churche/but the nerer he draweth to God by faythe (which is the only meane to com to God/shal he so muche the further goo awaye from Goddes ymage? and shall he begynne to be had in so muche lesse reuerence with the people / for that names sake / that he ought most chiefly to be honoured for? Truly/ if he be the headde of the people/and that by the ordinaunce of God/as no mā sayeth naye/ yea euen aswell whan the people / as the prince be most ferre dissevered frō God through infidelitie how muche more now / seinge they accorde through the power of God in one profession of faithe / & by that meanes are a churche / ought he to retayne the name of supreme headde? And ỹ he maye worthily be taken for the headde of ỹ churche still / he representeth the office that he occupieth in Goddes stede/muche more honourably now thā before tyme/whan he wādred in the darkenes of infidelitie. Paule wout differē ce / biddeth mē obey those princes/ ỹ beare the

The kin
e befor
darke
es nob
ỹ true
ght.
o.xiij.

swerde. Saint Petre speaketh of kinges by name/ Christ him self commaundeth tribute to be payde vnto Cesar/ and checked his disciples/ for streyvyng/ who shoulde be the greatest. Kinges of the naciones (quod he) beare rule ouer them/ declaring plainlye in so great varietie of degrees & ordres/ which God dothe garnyshe this worlde withall/ that the dominiō and autoritie pertaynneth to nō but to princes.

1.Pe.ij. Matt. xxiij. Luc.xxij

But here som mā will saye to me: you travaile about that/ that no man is in doubt of. For who euer denyed/ that the prince ought to be obeyed? it is most certayn/ that he that will not obeye the Prince/ is worthy to dye for it: as it is comprehended in the olde lawe/ and also confirmed in the newe lawe. But we must see (wil he saye) that the kīge doo not passe the lemites appoynted him/ as though ther must be an arbitrer for the ordringe of his limites. For it is certayn/ that obedience is due/ but how ferre the limites of requiring obedience extende/ that is all the hole question that can be demaunded. What maner of limites are those/ ỹ ye tel me of seinge ỹ scripture hathe nō suche? but generally speakīg of obediēce/ w ỹ subiecte is boūdē to doo vnto ỹ prīce/ ỹ wife vnto ỹ husbāde/ or ỹ seruaunt to ỹ maister it hathe not added so muche as

No mãs nes woꝛde to be obeyde agaynſt goddes woꝛde.

one ſillable of excepicion/ but only hathe preſerued the obedience due to God/ ſafe and hole/ ẏ we ſhoulde not hearken vnto any mannes woꝛde in all the woꝛlde againſt God. Elles the ſentences/that commaunde obedience/ are indiffinite/oꝛ without excepcion/ but are of indifferent foꝛce vniuerſally/ſo that it is vnt loſt labour foꝛ you/to tell me of limites / whiche can not be proued by any teſtimonie of ſcripture / We are commaunded doubtles to obeye / In ẏ conſiſteth our office/which if we mynde to goo about / with the fauour of God and man/ we muſt nedes ſhewe hũblenes of hearte/in obeyeng autoꝛitie / how grevous ſo euer it be / foꝛ goddes ſake/not queſtionig noꝛ inquirig/what the kinge/ what ẏ maiſter/ oꝛ what ẏ huſbãde ought oꝛ maye cõmaunde other to doo. And if thei take vpõ thẽ/either of their owne headde/ oꝛ whan it is offred them/ moꝛe than right and reaſon is / they have a loꝛde / vnto whom they either ſtande oꝛ fall / and that ſhall one daye ſitte in iudgement even of them. Yet foꝛ al this/ ſom mã wil ſaye : Yea but ye promiſed in ẏ begynnig / to ſpeake of ẏ / wch you are about now to avoide your hãdes of / havig foꝛgoten your purpoſe/as it appeareth. No Sir / ſaye I/ I avoide not my hãdes of it / but I ſaie/ it is

sufficiently confirmed / by these that we have spoken of before / that Prices ought to be obeyed / by the commaũdement of God: yea & to be obeied wout excepcion / as a thige / wherof ther is no mencion in that lawe / wch if thou put any thinge to / or take any thinge fro / thou arte a wicked man: what wolde we have more?

ffor if I must take in hande to interprete the generall doctrine of obedience / as it ought to be & shal conferre and compare scripture to scripture / & searche out the true & right meanig of the scripture / as the most godly and greatest learned men are bothe wont and ought to doo: I see no cause i dede / why I shoulde doo any lesse thã they did. Therfore let vs consider / what those scriptures saye / wch are alleged on ỹ cõtrary parte. Obey your rulers, sayth Paule to Hebrues: which place / and the xiij. to the Romaynes / som expounde of the Bishop of Ro. autoritie / whiche they call / the ecclesiasticall power. Also in the actes of the apostles / Take hede to your selues, and to the hole flocke, amõge whom the holy goost hathe set you to be ouerseers, to gouerne the churche of God, whom he hathe purchaced, with his owne bloude. And lest we shoulde passe ouer any thig / although it is mẽt to an other purpo-

He is wiked addeth or dimi nisheth to gods des wo de. Th are yo a deuil.

ỹ doctr ne of o bedieẽce to be in terprẽ ted by cõferẽc of scrip tures. Act. xx Scripti res alle ged for ỹ bish. of Rõ.

le/ let vs not omitte that/ that Petre speaketh/ concernige ye Royall priesthode. ffor this texte: What so euer thou shalbynde in earthe &c. perteyneth to an other mater/ and this: Fede my shepe: besides that/ that Christ spake w̄ his owne mouthe/ meaneth no more/ but that I haue allready shewed/ was commaunded/ cō cerning the gouernement of the churche. These sentēces and suche like/ though they be vnder= stonden/ as those mē wolde haue them/ that is/ that Bishopes & ministres of the worde of God in the churche/ are nothing against the kinges autoritie (but that he maye be called ye headde of the churche) no more/ than the obediēce due to ye kinge/ is any thīge nypped or diminyshed/ in ye/ that ye wife is cōmaunded to obey her hus bande/ & ye seruaūt his maister/ as it were w̄ ge nerall speache of wordes. ffor like as w̄ the la= wers/ as they thē selues terme it/ ther be now & than sondry iurisdicciones ye ꝓcede out of al one thinge/ & yet they marre not one an other: but they cōsiste & cōcurre by ye mutual helpe of one to an other: euē so in ye the gouernement of the churche is cōmitted to ye apostles/ & to those ye succede in their rowmes/ maye not be thought to abrogate or diminishe ye/ that God hathe cō mitted vnto prices/ in any cōdiciō. The person/

John is my name

vicare or ye parishe priestes cure of his parisheners / is neuer ye lesse/ because the bishop ought also to ouersee: nether maye ye Bishoppes iurisdiccion be demed of nō effecte / because he must take ye Archebishoppe for his superiour. ffor ye curate / ye bishop & tharchebishoppe do gouerne ye churche euery one in their degree & ordre. Thā like as euery one of thē doing their office / seme not to hinder one an other/ but to helpe one an other/ euenso / in ye we finde / ye gouernemēt of the churche was cōmitted to ye apostles / & to those ye succede in their rowme / ye w beforehāde is cōmitted of God to prices / is in no wise taken awaye. But forasmuche as gouernemēt hathe nede of many thinges / especially teachig & preeminēce occording to ye sondry distribuciō of giftes / vnto som / God hathe committed the office of teachig / & ye ministerie of ye sacramētes in all one bodye / & to som preeminence / not to be aduersaries / but as diuerse membres agree in one body / so in gouernemēt they shoude accorde together / & euery one goo abouth is owne office w charitie. But here me thinke / I heare som mē startle / & as it were / wōdrous earnestly chide / because I had rather vse a newe makīge of distīcciō, thā ye olde accustumed Hū trū distīcciō, w as those mē thike / dothe put a hādesom

differēce betwene the gouernemētes of a Prince/ and of the churche: that is/ that the Prince shoulde gouerne in temporall maters/ and the churche in spirituall: after the whiche distincion/ the Prince/as the moone which is called the lesse light/ shoulde haue charge of suche maters/ as are of the night/ but the other/ which be of the spirite & of the daye light/ he must reserue to the sonne alone/ to be discussed. ffor sothe a blynde distinccio/and full of darkenes. ffor if thou leave vnto a christian Prince the name of a kinge still/ so that his duetye is/ not only to be the chief ouer the people/ in Goddes stede/but also to gouerne them/and rule them: ffurst I aske/what waye shall a christian Prince take in gouernement/to leade christian people by: the waye of truthe/which leadeth vnto life/ or the waye of lyes/ which hasteth to deathe: ffor ther is no mydde waye founde. If he shall take the waye of truthe/ what charge of temporall maters/tell you me of/ whā ỹ scripture cryeth: Seke furst the kingdome of God, as for other thinges they must not be sought for, for Goddes liberalitie must geve thē: Must euery mā in his owne ꝑuate care seke ỹ kīgdome of god & must a prīce in his administracio/ neclecte it/or at least/ not care for it:

By what way a Prince shoulde gouerne his subiectes.

Note.

Mat. vj

This is the mater surely/because the good men were afraide/ lest any kig shoulde waxe to holy and in this behalfe/lest he shoulde fall vnto vertue to earnestly/they inuẽted a fine devise/ thinking it a wittie parte/to appoynt a kinge his office/so as he take no thought/ whether his people be good or not (I meane/ after ỹ goodnes that is mete for the profession of christen men) so that they be not notoriously cryed out vpon for abhominable impietie & wicked dedes/ so as they seme not to become/ more like beastes than men. Therfor it must be ỹ kinges charge/ to see/ that they steale not/nor murther/and ỹ the laye folke oppresse not the good people.

But as for all maner of horedomes/ or worse than horedome and what so euer those mẽ doo/ whose title and rayment wolde make a man to thinke the contrary in them: though their behaueours be neuer so ferre out of ordre/the kinge must let it alone/ and passe not on it.

ffor those are spirituall maters/ that is to saye/ spirituall mennes synnes/ which they bidde the Kinge/ let them alone withall: as though it were ynough for him/ to gouerne his people in temporall affaires/& ỹ it were not for him to knowe any further. This in dede is ỹ most spedy waye to marre all/ & ferre contrary from his

They did not so wisely inuẽt ỹ deuise but pour as subtelly followe ỹ same steppes.

Trustinge of prelates ouer much the marreth all.

ij. Re. v. office that occupieth Goddes rowne in earthe. Is this to fede ye people? which worde the scripture vseth to kinges? Naye/ Saint Dunstane (which was a very holy and a right good mā) somtyme Archebishop of Cantorbury / did a great deale after an other sorte / with great reioysing/interprete the charge of a prince in correcting the maners of the churche/ beinge gladly well apayed of the kinges sayeng / whan he tolde him/he wolde ioyne sweorde to sweorde/ to thinthent the light dissolute maners of the Holy Kirckemen, might be framed in to the right trade of lyfe. By the one sweorde / alluding to the sayeng of Paule / which the ministres of the worde/ exercice in preachīg and excommunicating: by that other sweorde/shewīg a supremacie oppoynted by the lawe of God / wherunto/as many as are the kinges subiectes (which is the congregacion / that we call the churche) are all bounden throughlye to obeye. For the kinge is commaunded/ to gouerne the people: and the prophet warnyng Princes of their duetie/sayeth to thē: Now you kīges get you vnderstanding, & be learned you that are iudges of the lāde. But if we admitte these mēnes interpretaciō/thā shoulde prīces haue no more vnderstāding/ nor be further learned/

Dūstane a holi man/ & my dogge other

Princes ought to be learened in scriptures.

than to be necligēt almost in all thiges / ẏ is to saie/they shoulde not meddle wͥ ẏ one halfe of ẏ people/if thei serve ẏ lorde in name ⁊ apparail: ⁊ as for ẏ rest of ẏ people/they shoulde correcte thē/not to refraine frō al grosse synnes/but frō som. But ẏ ꝓphetes interpretaciō/is an other maner of mater/which he brīgeth in afterwarde/saieng: Serue the Lorde in feare, what this meaneth/we must vnderstande and learne it of Goddes owne mouthe. For Goddes mouthe speaketh playnly in the holy scriptures bothe of of the olde testament and newe. Touching kinge Salomons administracion/ this dothe scripture reporte: Kinge Salomon, according to his fathers appoyntment, ordained the offices of the priesters in their ministeries, and Levites in their ordre, that they might geue thankes, and ministre before the priestes after the ordre of euery day, and porters in their diuisions gate by gate. Here you do here ẏ kīge Salomō take cure also of holy or spirituall maters/not vnadvisedly/but by thappoītment of Dauid his father / of whō god/ by the prophet/ protesteth/ that he had founde a man after his owne hearte. Sothat the same historie of Salomō/speaketh of this sorte folowing: For soo had the mā of God commaunded,

Exāples of princes autorities out of ẏ scriptures.

ij. Parali. xxviij.

nether did they omytte any of the Kinges commaundementes, nether the priestes nor Leuites, of all that he had commaunded.

ij. Par. xviij. Wherto shoulde I here make rehearsall of kinge Josophat his carefulnes / that set vp the highe iudgement seate of the priestes and levites householdes in Hierusalem? By what autoritie did he so / but by his Regall power? taking it to be his office / rather to take charge concerning Divine maters than humane. What a bolde dede had that ben of kinge Ezechias / euē the very furst yeare and the furst moneth of his reigne / so to have busyed him selfe with the administracion of divine maters / if the discipline of his regall office / wh he receaued of God / had not required it? ẏ is to saye ẏ a Kinge ordayned of God (which is ẏ eternall spirite) shoulde take charge of spiritual and eternall affaires / before and rather than corporal maters / and thinges that shall perishe in time. This Ezechias therfore / the scripture commendeth so highly / that ther was non of all the Kinges of Juda / which obserued all the lordes preceptes like vnto him. For his will was to seke the lorde with all his hole hearte / as he did in dede and prospered / as the scripture testifieth. ij. Par. xxviij. What did this Ezechias / I saye? In the very

ij. Par. xxviij.

furſt yeare & furſt moneth of his reigne/ he did not only buylde vp the gates of the lordes houſe agayne / but alſo gaue diligence to reſourme the prieſtes them ſelues/ and to repaire the lyuely buylding/that was decayed. ffor he not only admoniſhed ỹ prieſtes / ỹ dwelt together on the eaſt ſtrete of the citie/ of their necligẽce in their office/but alſo like a man of autoritie / ſayde: Hearken o ye Leuites and prieſtes: be ye ſanctified and make cleane the houſe of the Lorde, the God of your fathers, & put a waye all vncleãnes frõ the ſayntuarie. &c. I pray you / what coulde he ſpeake more imperiouſly? ffor he ſpake not/as one/ that exhorted thẽ/ as inferiours / or thoſe that be folowe like/ vſe to take in them ſelues with all/ to cauſe the communicacion of the mater / to be the more eaſily taken. Which maner of talke is requiſite ſom time in a gentill godly hearte in an others mãnes cauſe. And if Ezechias luſted to haue ſpoken after that rate/ he wolde not haue ſayde/Be ye ſantified/but let vs be ſantified: not make you cleane, but let vs make cleane: not put ye awaye, but let vs put awaye: or if the mater had ben ſuche/ that it wolde not admitte felowſhip/if a priuate man ſhoulde haue wiſhed or declared thoſe caſes/ it had become

him nether to make him selfe felowe like with the mater to be required/ to exhorte them/ nor to require it by the waye of commaundemēt. But the right good prince Ezechias / beinge taught of God/what his Regall office/charge and administracion was/ vsed suche maner talke vnto the priestes/as shoulde declare ỹ autoritie and power of the speaker. Therfore he speaketh in the imperatiue mode: Hearken, make cleane,and put awaye. And the priestes themselues (as it appeareth in the same place) did/ as ỹ kinge had iustly bidden them/ and obeyed his commaundement. Thus were those kinges learned / that fully and entierlye applied their office / by Goddes autoritie amonge Goddes people. And these thinges will God require at princes handes / a great deale more in these dayes: that/they shoulde hearken/how the prophet exhortet them / to laye hande vpon this maner of learning / to gouerne the people by/ and to serue the lorde with feare & trembling: and to cause the people/ not to be suche as they lust them selues to be / but a worthye and an acceptable people vnto the lorde / as muche as in thē were possible/& so to be founde faithfull stuardes/in ỹ daye/whā they shal yelde accōpte of ỹ administracion/ẅ they toke vpon thē.

God wilbe angry ī these daies ẅ vnlearned p̄res.

How cā ỹ be if Goddes boke be takē frō them.

Let them therfore heare what ỹ wisemã saithe:
Heare ô ye kynges and vnderstande, marke with your eares, you that are rulers of the multitude, for power is geuen vnto yow of the lorde, and streynght frõ the highest, which shall enquire, what your workes be. Sap. vj

Therfore Princes must not passe the tyme / in slouthfulnes / necligence / and Idlenes / but continually serve the lorde. ffor their duetie is / to be so muche the more carefull in the office that God hathe geven them (as one hathe writtẽ) as they see them selues the more bounden in yelding accompta. ffor it is a great talent / that God hathe put princes in trust withall: that is / that they shoulde not only rule the people / but also rule them rightly / not in any one parte alone but in all particularly: and so to loke vnto the lordes vineyarde / which men thinke they have takẽ in hande to kepe in good husbandrie / that they not only plucke out suche thinges as are noysom / but also trymme it and laye newe dong to it: and to leave no poynt of husbandrye vndone / that the vineyarde maye bringe furthe frute more pleyntously / which the good man of the house shall require in his season.

ffor who is hable to save princes harmeles / or beare them out / that / wher they have taken

vpon them selues/all the hole charge to gouer-
ne the people by Goddes autoritie / they maye
compacte afterwarde / that the greater parte
shall have the charge of the other / and they in
the meane while/as though thei had done thei-
office gayly well/ take their ease / and care fo-
nothing? And wher a worde was ones spoken/
by cause of the reuerẽce of their present vertue/
and not by the truthe of their autoritie: shall
men / though it were spoken of a man so affec-
ted / vsurpe it for that ende to mocke out the
charge of Goddes autoritie? I meane/the saiẽg
of Constantine: I will not iudge you, o-
whom I my selfe ought to be iudged.
God speaketh generally/he excepteth no man/
he committeth the people vnto the princes cha-
ge / somtyme naughty people / to a naughty
prince. If somtyme good people to a good prin-
ce / than he puteth him so muche the more i-
trust/ that mẽ maye surely thinke/he hathe th-
supremacie ouer all the people/according to th-
commaundementes of God/ and not ouer on-
parte of the people/ after the tradiciones of m-
which people/ being knyt together in one be-
fe of Christ / seing it is a churche: what absur-
ditie is it / that a prince / which is called th-
headde of that people/shoulde not be called a-

Constã
tine the
emperi-
our.

so the headde of the churche/ which that people maketh? Pou will saye perchaunce/ Christ only is the headde of the churche. We all confesse it/ or elles we coulde not properly constitute a churche/ but the churche of malignauntes. In dede we acknowlage that Christ is the headde of the churche/ & that he reigneth with the father in heauen/ who is our aduocate/ sitting on the fathers right hande/ and maketh intercession for vs. Nota.

But as concerning that Christ/ the mediatour of God/and men/ bothe God and man/ is the headde of the churche/that churche hathe none addicion/ forasmuche as the churche of Englãde/is not the churche/alone/ but also the churche of ffraunce/ of Spayne/ and of Rome/ for the churche is not circũscripte to any place/ but where so euer it be in all the wide worlde/euen among the Turkes/wher God hathe sealed vp his owne children vnto him selfe/who (as the Gospell saithe) draweth all/ vnto whom he hathe geuen power to become his children. Joan. j

Therfore late this be out of cõtrouersie/ about the which it were wickednes to cõtende/ I wil not saye/ Dispute. And to avoide this/ that ther remayne no cause of evil reporte of it/ther is to this worde/headde/added in Earthe: and

to this worde/churche/is added/of Englāde. Of which churche of Englande / the supreme headde in earthe/forasmuche as bothe scriptures and reasones doo allowe it / as a thing inexistent vnto the name of a prince and of a kinge/all Englishe people/thought it mete/to haue that mater expressed ī plaine wordes/ bothe the commones/and the fathers/ yea/ and euen those / that were reputed to be from that iurisdiccion / be prescripcion of tyme / and not by prescripcion of truthe. For/why shoulde they not cōsent to the truthe? In dede the newnesse and vnwont noueltie of the worde nether coulde/nor ought make men any thinge afrayde: For / after it appeared / that the thinge it selfe / which was expressed by name / was not only true/ but also auncient: it came of aduised iudgement and not of temeritie / that som notable name shoulde be set furthe/to stere vp the holowe heartes and feble iudgementes of som men vnto the cōsideration of the truthe by and to aduertise the subiectes by that name / that the prince is the hole Prince of all the people / and not of parte: and that the same body of the people/growing in to that condicion/to be called the churche / is not one handed / nor cut of by the stumpes / but that it consisteth perfitly

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Kinges
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hole / the same Prince beinge as the headde: whose office is / to take charge / not only of humayne maters / but muche more of diuine maters / that is / to distribute fitely vnto euery membre of the body / their propre offices / that he / with his eies / with his eares / and with his mouthe according to the care / wherby he hathe the gouernement / by the gifte of God / in ministring vnto the body / and chargeing euery one with their duetie / he maye applye that maner of office / that God shall doubtles / one daye / call for a reconyng of / at the handes of a christē Prince / habinge the gouernement of christen people. Thus muche towching the newltie of the name. ffor elles the mater it selfe / hathe bothe many and right weightie examples / not those only / which I haue before rehearced out of the olde lawe / but many other also / not comparable in dede with them (in that they are grounded vpon Goddes worde) in grauitie and weightie importaunce: howbeit / forasmuche as they are pertynent to the cause / they are not to be omitted. Than Sir / who did euer disallowe Justinianes facte / that made lawes / concerning the glorious Trinitie / & the catholike faithe / of Bishoppes / of men of the clergie / of heretiques / and others / suche like? Which

ỹ office of a prince is to take charge in diuine maters.

Justinianus.

lawes he either made in vaine/or elles he decla red / that he had the charge of that parte of the people also / which ought to be of the greater puritie and of the more holynesse / as he saythe him selfe he had / havyng perteyned in this be= halfe/ vnto the iudgement of the truthe/ out of all peraventure. How often doo we reade/that the causes of heresie / haue ben debated before Emperours and Princes/and discussed by their tryall? If we will boulte out the auncient la= was of kinges of Englande in tymes past/how many shall we finde / concerning religion and the chnrche/ made/ proclaymed/ and bidden to be put in execucion / by the commaundement & autoritie of those kinges? Yea / saye they / they made suche statutes/ as defendours of the churche / and not as autours and headdes of ỹ churche. Who was headde than in the meane space? Who had the gouernement? Who had the principall charge? I wotte/ what their anſ wer wilbe: Mary Sir/the Bishop of Rome. That shall we see here after. In the meane while/ it must nedes be graunted / that the kin ges dignitie hathe bē alwayes aboue ỹ chiefest Bishoppes in Englande / and that / vnder the name of Defendour of the churche (which title was geuē vnto kinges/euen of them/ that

graũted leaſt) they did and exerciſed thoſe thin-
ges albeit not in all thinges yet in moſt thinges
that repreſenteth the dignitie and office of the
headde in the churche. ffor princes were de-
defendours of the churche/ euen as the headde
maynteneth and defendeth the body. And as
we maye ſee it chaunce almoſt in euery place at
this daye/ that ſom that be necligent in many
thinges/ covet the name for all that. And con-
trary wiſe thoſe Princes/ which haue ben ſu-
che in dede and in office/ that they ought iuſtly
to haue ben called headdes/ haue refrayned on-
ly/ to be called headdes. ffor they haue made
ſtatutes by their autoritie and by their owne la-
wes/ for to enquire of hereſie/ wherin conſiſteth
the chief and principall poynt of office/ which
is yet ſtill/ and hathe alwayes ben obſerued
euen vnto theſe dayes. But now haue they per-
mitted many thinges vnto the Biſhoppes and
clergie/ and haue graunted them many inmuni-
ties/ the graũt wherof ought to be a wondrous
great argument/ either that Princes haue ben
hitherto deſired in vayne to graunt that/ that is
an other mannes/ which ought to perteyne
nothinge vnto him/ and that they gaue/ that
they had not them ſelues/ which is a playne
abſurditie/ or elles that they had power to exer-

How a
prīce is
defen-
dour of
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ỹ autori
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geuē by
princes.

cise them selues / that they graunted to other: and that therfore / they remitted and departed in so dooing / with parte of their owne right.
Which beinge euen so / Princes haue ben allwaies headdes / mater in dede / euen thā / whan they were called only Defendours / if this be to be the headde vnto the body: to beare rule ouer all the people / to commaūde / remitte / and somtyme to beare with all the membres therof / as muche as tendeth to the vse of al ꝑ hoole body / and so to ordre and moderate euery thīge / that the glorie of God / and the profession of the faithe maye be advaunced from daye to daye.
But these mē will saye: Princes haue acknowlaged the Bishop of Rome / to be the headde of the vniuersall churche: to him they haue geben condigne honoure / as to supreme headde / to him they haue submitted selues / his autoritie they haue acknowlaged / reuerenceing him as their father / and reioyceing that he called them sonnes / so that if we shoulde esteme the right by the dedes / & if it be ynough to teache dedes for the prose of the right / so as / what so euer is apparauntly done / we must confesse it to be done rightefully: than doubtles the Bishoppes of Romes cause shalbe on the better hande.
I wolde not be reputed so bayne or so impudēt

a mā (which is ẏ formuſt ende of my thought) as to clocke or to ſaye naye / to thoſe thinges ẏ haue ben done / and yet whan I ſhall graunt to ſuche thinges as cā not be denyed / me thinketh / that like as vertue / whā it is moſt throwne vnder fote / and ſoiled with vices / yet it ſheweth his efficacie / by one ſhifte or other / that we maye vnderſtonde it to be preſently oppreſſed / but not vtterly extincte / euen ſo in the meane ſeaſon / dedes / which ſeme to dympniſhe the right title / and autoritie of the prince / a certain light of the truthe hathe alwayes peeped out / as it were / out of moſt depe darkenes / wherby he that marke it more nerely and more ſurely / might ꝑceaue / that theſe dedes were not hoole nor perfite / ne groũded vpon iuſte foundaciones / but had a greater appearaunce of truthe / than true in dede / & tokens of honoure rather borowed than payde. ffor if that opinion had euer ſonke in to Princes heartes / that the Biſhop of Rome had ben Chriſtes vicare on earthe / that is / the headde ordayned of God to be ouer all / vnto whom al thinges ſhoulde bowe / all thinges ſhoulde obeye / without whom / nothing muſt be reconed holye nor ſacred / whoſe bleſſinge ſhoulde alwaies geue ꝓſperitie / whoſe curſe aduerſitie / or if the Biſſoppes of Rome winche= ſtre not ſhudēt / no full lothe.

If ỹ bis. of Ro. were christes vicar/ he wolde not haue practised iuggliges.

were persuaded/that it were so: the bishoppes of Rome wolde not haue practised straunge artes/and carnall fetches/ rather than strong testimonie of Goddes truthe/if they coulde yet to this daye haue brough out any suche/ in the defense of their autozitie: nether durst the princes haue ben so bolde/ euery one in his tyme/ as to nyppe awaye that same autozitie (which they semed to graunt in wordes and termes of speache) after that facio in their procedinges/ and doinges/ not in corners but openly in the face of the worlde: I speake of suche princes/whose excellent religious deuocion/ the worlde now after their deathes/ reuerenceth and worshippeth: and reconeth them amonge the nombze of Saites verily if our elders had beleued/that God had committed the charge of all the hoole worlde/ vnto the bishop of Rome/ what wilfull boldenes caused them/to make so many statutes agaynst/ and contrary to that charge and power aduaũceing it selfe/ vnder that pretẽse: and as they wolde haue done many other thinges/ yet they durst neuer haue ben so bolde/ to doo/that they did/to haue purposed to blyndefelde him/from lokig about him/ and to stoppe his eies/whom they extemed for a watcheman set of God/ in the higher place/to see: I thike

it was mete / to mislike so great a diligence in Goddes vicare / for that he beinge burthened w the cure and charge of all churches / lest the people shoulde want shepeherdes / made prouisiō with iij. sortes of vnder sheperdes. Against the superiour / or against him / it is not lawfull to make any lawe. ffor inferiours prescribe not lawes to the superiours / nether doo they lawfully make penalties against their gouuernement / how wicked / or intolerable so euer it be. Therfore our elders / and princes / that were before tyme / whan they assembled together to counsail vpon maters of the commō weale / taking deliberate advisement in their open counsailes / haue by statutes and lawes determinately thought it mete put out that quicke sight in the bishoppes of Romes eies / that it shoulde not serue thē to loke ouer / so ferre as vnto vs: yea / those princes seme that they knewe owne right autoritie / and that they were not al ignoraunt of the originall begynning and nature of the Bishop of Romes power: and yet the bishoppes of Rome thought it good to allowe bothe their iudgementes and doinges / in ỳ behalfe / so muche / that they haue not only / not founde faulte with those Princes / which bothe made suche statutes and kept them / but also

A wyl foxes.

dissembling the foile that they had taken / commended those Princes / for their fidelitie and obedience. Yea Mary Sir / the bishoppes of Rome were circumspecte / and the more wittye men in their generacion / folowing in this case the example of subtyl marchauntes / that of an vnthriftye bargayn / whan they haue scant halfe / yet they holde them content / reconyng it all wonne that they had / because of right they coul de haue claymed uothing. As for our elders / whan they perceaued the bishop of Romes autoritie by his frutes / and iudged him not to be Goddes vicare / they thought / that pykepurse autoritie must be borne withall / and not cleane cast out (for so reason permitted at ỳ tyme) but their expressed dedes doo most manifestly declare / that they were of the same indgemēt / that we are of. Neuertheles / as euery mannes hearte serueth him / so dothe he either clayme his owne / & vseth it / like a stowte hearted man / or elles beinge content with the commoditie that is offred him / letteth the rest alone / and wotteth what he thinketh. And seing the mater stondeth euen so / ther is no reason / why the rest of their doinges shoulde trouble them / how contrary in outwarde appearaūce so euer they seme / by the which they coulde nyppe a=

you are a whelpe of ỳ same heare.

ỳ neclygēce & temeritie of prīces putteth not away ỳ autoritie ỳ god geueth them.

waye nothing from Goddes lawe / and dymy-
nyshe their power / through temeritie or by ne-
cligence. Let mẽ call the Bishoppes of Rome /
fathers: let theym call them / headdes: let them
advaunce them with what names / they lust:
yet the truthe of thinges / is not impeched by
errours of thinges mysdone.

The churche of Rome / was in the olde tyme /
either by reason of outwarde holynes or by
mightie power / not only of great fame / but al-
so of highe autoritie: whã I speake of autoritie /
I folowe Tullies meanig / who / in ẏ weightie
importaunce of witnesse bearing / attributeth
autoritie vnto such as be wittye and wealthye
men / because of the cõmon peoples iudgemẽt /
though it be not alwayes a right / as he saithe /
yet because it is not easily altred. ffor elles the
autoritie / that the bishob of Rome shoulde be
thought to haue by Goddes lawe / is non auto-
ritie with vs in dede / like as no maner of forayn
ne bishop allo hathe autoritie among vs.

Nether let it / in this case / be preiudicall vnto
the truthe / that men haue done here to fore in
sondrye counsailles / to florishe out the mater
withall: that is to saye / either seruing their
owne turne / or gebing place to ẏ tyme / or elles
blinded through ignorance. Let the truthe of

errours of myſ doinges hurteth not the truthe of the thiges.

ẏ church of Rome godly in the olde tyme.

Autori-tie after Tullies mide &c.

Remem-bre this lesson pour sel-fe / elles ye wilbe shẽt one day.

Tyme may not prescribe against truthe.

Goddes worde haue the victorie now/which if it geue no more autoritie vnto these Bishoppes of Rome/than to all other bishoppes / that is/ to fede & bring vp the people/ within their diocese committed to their spirttuall charge/ with the ministracion of the worde of God / and of his sacramentes: let not tyme prescribe against Goddes truthe/nether let it be iudged/that the Prices or ye people were blinded w ignoraūce/ circumvēted with subtiltie/or gredy of gaines/ either induced through any other respecte / to doo / that they nether ought nor coulde possiblye by any meanes haue done. Because men haue vsed/to aske the Bishop of Rome counsail in gouerning the churche/is it not lawful therfore to doo any thinge without his counsaill? And because Princes haue suffred their subiectes/to aske his counsaill/did they by that meanes geue ouer their owne autoritie/which/because it is committed vnto them by God / it is not lawfull for them to put awaye? Let the maters / that haue / in tymes past/ben made a myngle mangle / be called agayne to the true square of Goddes worde: let the grounde of bothe their powers be wayed / and like as we haue by testimonie of Goddes worde shewed before / that a Princes mightie power is not

Princes may not put awaye their supremacie / because they haue it of God.

Let maters amyse be called home agayn to ye line of Goddes worde.

goten by flattery / or by priuilege of ỹ people / but geuẽ of God / let vs also considre / whether the selfe same God haue geuen any power to ỹ bishop of Rome / that ought to hindre the supreme power of princes. And in this mater / we nede not to make much a doo in searching out the scriptures of the olde testamẽt / wherin / we haue aswell touched somwhat all ready as also it is most manifest in many other places / that the priestes were in subiecciõ to ỹ high princes. Did not Aaron take Moyses for his souerai = gne lorde / which is the maner of speche of him that acknowlageth superiour autoritie? Did not Achimelech the high Priest vse the same worde of subieccion / whan he spake to Saul / the kinge of Israel; Did not Solomon put Abiathar the high priest to deathe? what did Kinge Alexander (as it appeareth in the boke of Machabees) write to Jonatha / sayeng? Now haue we this day ordayned the to be the high priest of thy people. Doo not these sayenges / sufficiẽtly declare / that the power of Princes / as aboue euen the highest priestes of all? I speake nothing / that Demetrius gaue vnto Symon the office of the highe priest / and so to others after him. I passe also ouer many other moo. ffor the multitude of examples out

Exãples ỹ high priestes were subiec = tes to prices.

Exo. xxxij.

j. Reg. xxij.

iij. Re. ij

j. Mach. x

j. Mach. xiiij.

of Goddes lawe dothe not so strongly confirme as shewe the truthe. ffor this is the difference betwene Goddes lawe / and mannes: Goddes lawe is constaunt/but mannes lawe is euer subiecte vnto vanitie/& so vnto varietie. In Goddes worde therfore/it is alwaies true/ that is ones set out by example for truthe / as/ to prove the supreme power and autoritie of princes/ the example of Ezechias alone/ which is regestred in Goddes boke / and commended vnto vs/might iustly haue suffised. It remayneth thā/that the bishop of Rome/ must ether bring out the tables of the newe testament/ or non. But furst / to speake vniuersally of the newe lawe / how can any sillable in Christes wordes/helpe his autoritie/seing the selfe same Christ / dothe so opēly protest bothe in wordes and in dedes/that he sought not a earthely kingdome / nor wolde clayme any suche kinde of kingdome/but (the state of ordres remayning still) he set furthe and taught the forme of heauenly conuersacion/and the iuste gouernaunce of the inwarde mynde/through ỹ grace of god/ which he by his open doinges most playnly declared/to consiste / not in highe ruffling estate nor in ruling the rost/ but contrary wise/in humilitie and contempte of wordly thinges / whā

Goddes lawe cō staunt / mannes layne & variable

Christ altred not the state of ordres.

he suffred ỹ most bitter & cruell kide of deathe for our sakes. And ỹ poites of office/ of him that is his vicare/if he doo his office faithfully/ are/not to beare rule/but to be in subiecciō/not to commaūde princes/ but to acknowlage him selfe to be vnder their power & cōmaundemēt/ not only whan they commaūde thinges indiffe rent/and easily to bedone / but also whan they commaunde thinges not indifferent/ so they be not wicked: in checkes/in scourgiges/and bea= tinges vnto deathe/yea euē to the deathe of the crosse. In dede/these are Christes fotesteppes/ & this is the maiestie of rule bearing in Christ: This/I saye/is the true power of Christ/vnto vs bothe wonderous/and exceding holsom: by the which also is power geuen to vs/ to become the children of God. This he taught and expres sed in his doiges/touchig ỹ kingdome of Israel. His dreamig disciples he alwayes rebuked: but he neuer hyndred Cesares tribute/nor any mā= nes autoritie/one iote by his dedes. And seing it is so/I wene/I haue made it manifest/if we considre Christes dedes/which maye not be al= tred nor doubtefully interpreted: we shal finde playnly / that all is cleane cōtrary/that the bis shop of Rome chalēgeth to hī self/ as Christes vicare. This therfore only remayneth/that he

ỹ office of him occupi= eth chri stes rou me.

flee to the wordes of the euangelistes / which (how so euer men haue baried in the interpretaciō) all men knowe well ynough / how they stande in the texte. But what loketh he for / in them? Mary Sir / this. Whether Christ / the waye / the truthe and the life / spake euer any thingh / wherī he shoulde disagree frō his owne dedes? ẏ wher he neuer sought autoritie amōg mē / he gaue it notwithstondig to the bishop of Rome / to vse as his vicare. This in dede is the summe of the question / in wordes (as it is propounded) blasphemous / and wicked / but yet it paynteth out the mater / that I haue in hāde. ffor wher in al other maters / as ẏ euāgeliste reporteth / Jesus began to doo and to teache / & to teache that he did: And in this one only maters / which we now treate of / if he taught any whitte of that / which the bishop of Rome claymeth at this daie to him selfe / by Christes title / that is / to be aboue Princes / by Christes wordes / we must nedes cōfesse / that Christ taught in wordes / that wherof he not only shewed no example in him selfe / but shewed cleane cōtrary in all the hole course of his life before. Let this therfore remayne still in ẏ cause / that Christes dedes stāde on our side / which maye not be wrested by no mannes interpretacion: only the que

stiō is ī Christes wordes/ wͤ now & thā/mānes interpretacion is so sawcye as to blemyshe. Albeit he that shall stande with the bishop of Rome in this cause/might furst of al/sticke fast in this poynt: that ther is not foūde in the holy scriptures/so muche as one syllabe/ of ẏ bishop of Rome/so ẏ what interpretacion of Christes wordes so euer he wil stande to/ he might seme to lose his accion/as they saye. For what is the consequency than? Christ wolde haue Petre to be aboue Princes/asit appeareth it was neuer his minde. Ergo he wolde haue the bishop of Rome to be so to. Why/because he his Petres successour? I saye no more/ but I wolde he were. And than/in that case/I doubt not/but he shoulde be aboue all mē/though not in hault estate of worldly power (as out of doubt he ha the non suche) yet in admiracion and reuerence of inwarde vertue / and in that poynt / Christ wolde haue those that his be / to excelle and be ring leaders euen aboue emperours: as those/ vnto whom/beīge his Embassadours/ he gaue the keyes of the kingdome of heauē/ and amōg them / vnto Petre/ which in all their names / had spoken so holsome a cōfession/ to acknowlage Jesus/to be the sonne of the living God. Which confession/ like as fleshe and bloud had

Petre spake one for thē all.

not reueled / euen so was ther no prerogatiue geuen vnto fleshe and bloud in Petre / what so euer was geuen/but to the chiefer parte/which was the spirite/to ẏ intent/that beinge endued the more pleynteously with the Grace of God/ he shoulde be the ring leader in vertue & mighte of the worde of God/ and in the power of ruling affecciones. Yf we shoulde so interprete Christes wordes / as if they ment som externe power/in rule bearing/which al other folkes/ shoulde acknowlage them selues to be vnder / yea euen Princes to / albeit the same selfe God haue set them in the superiour rowne / so that nothīg elles coulde be allcged/ how coulde that

Joā. xiij sentēce of Christ stōde together? The disciple is not greater than his maister, namely if the disciple wolde not be cōtēt to be in subiecciō/as Christ was/but execute ẏ supreme power him selfe/ẇ his lorde wolde neuer take vpō him. In scriptures/ ther is no mencion made of Petres supremacie/ and Eusebeus in Ecclesiastica historia/reporteth / that Clemens in sexto li. Dispositionum, affirmed/that Petre/ Johā/

James Bishop of the apostles. and James/after the ascension of our saueour/ although he had set them almost aboue all the apostles / yet they toke not the glorie of supremacie vpō them/but that James/which is cal=

led/ Justus/ was ordayned the bishop of the a-
postles. Notwithstonding for the autorities
sake of them/ which haue not misliked the wor-
de of supremacie/ I doo not so muche refuse the
worde selfe/ but I flee to the interpretacion of
the worde / that it maye agree with the right
proper meanyng of the Gospell / expressed in
Christes dedes. Admitte/ ỹ Petre were chief/
admitte he had the supremacie of Christ/ what
of that? was a kingdome/lordeship/ or preemi
nence geuen him/with ỹ supremacie? Because
he was biddē to cōfirme his brethren in faithe /
was it geuen him / to beare rule ouer his bre-
thren/therfore? Christes humble estate knewe
no suche kinde of speache / nor mater. ffor
though Christ (as touching his Godheadde)
was equal vnto the father/with whom he was
in the begynnyng and in all thinges/ which he
created/speake/or did/ he was alwayes/ toge-
ther with ỹ holy goste / the indiuisible worker
(one substaūce of three persones in diuinitie)
although I saye/ according to this maiestie/ he
hathe alwayes had all power/to subdue al thin
ges vnto him selfe: he was alyue/he is alyue/ &
he shall lyue: he hathe reigned/he reigneth / &
he shall reigne God for euer more: yet for his
exceding mercie towardes mankinde/ he made

Supre
macie
may be
takē d
uersely

Phil. ij. A prea= her houlde not re= eyue ordship

neddlig ẏ many offices narreth prea= her. Poke to our sel e ther= ore. What houl= iers/ rea= hers hould e.

him selse of no reputacion/ taking the forme of a seruaunt/ being in apparaill founde as a mā/ and a very opprobrie/ as the prophet saithe: to make it plaine and open/ that those thinges/ ẏ were highely estemed with men/ as empires/ dominiones/ and highe autorities/ being/ as it were/ stoppes and impedimentes to the atteyning of eternall felicitie/ are rather to be cast awaye and contemned/ than to be gredily sought for/ and ambiciously coveted/ yea they are not to be receaved though they offre them selues/ but vnder this condicion/ that we receaue thē/ as mater offred of God/ to trauaile in/ for the exercise of Godlynes sake/ euery one in his vocacion. Which/ the greater it is/ and the moo thinges it is tangled withall/ the harder it wilbe to doo it so well/ as euery one wolde be glad and fayne to doo/ that faithfully contendeth to com to the countrey that euer shall endure.

So that we must vnderstande/ that Christ mēt neuer a worde of any supremacie of wordly administracion/ but he appoynted his souldiers/ whom he furnished/ to encountre as it were in the vawarde against the cōtinuall fraudes/ perpetuall/ bataill and warres of the worlde/ the fleshe and the dyvell/ to be the forewardest/ & as it were the enseigne bearours/ in the very

formoſt ranke. Whom he knewe/to be of bet=
ter courage in faithe/to breake the more daun=
gerous raye of thenemies / becauſe they were
not tangled nor letted with any charge of worl
dly maters/and might by their example of con
ſtaunce/encouräge/ allure/ and prouoke other
of the weaker ſorte/ to become ſouldiours of ỹ
bande alſo. In which kinde of warrefarre/
though Chriſt/makīg choiſe of his owne/gaue
the vppermoſt ſtanding to Petre / among the
brotherne/it was no marbaill: ſeinge he had ſo
armed him/ ỹ he knewe before hande/though
he wolde geue backe from the enemye perhap=
pes for a tyme / yet he wolde not geue it ouer
ſo/but to it agayne ſtotaly/and fight like a tall
felowe for the defenſe of the truthe. Ha/ was
Petre the chief than? No man ſaithe naye.
ffor he confeſſed Chriſt/to be the very ſonne of
the lyvyng God/ furſt. And Petre was of as
conſtaunt and ſtedfaſt myndes/in defending of
theſame truthe/at all tymes/as any mā was.
He was the furſt after Chriſt / that taught the
Jewes. And ī thaſſemblye of thapoſtles/whā
one ſhoulde nedes ſpeake in all their names /
Petre / ſomtyme as the mater required / was
chief in the tale telling. Therfore I will not
ſaye naye to the argument / which they call:

Argumentum à coniugatis, but that Saint Petre/ beige by so many wayes and reasones/ the furst / might also be thought to be chief among thapostles. ffor like as the wise man hathe the wisedome/in that he is a wise man: so hathe the chief mā ỹ chief place or supremacie.
What than? he ỹ is chief of all ỹ Phisicianes/ hathe not he also the supremacie among Phisicianes? ffor why shoulde he not? Among Paynters also/if ther were any in these dayes/ as connyng as Appelles or Pharrhasius was/ and were called therfore ỹ head Paynter/ wolde we not saye / that he had the supremacie amōg paynters? yea doubtles. In vniuersities/ agayn/ if it were agreed by all mennes consentes/that Lutetia of Parrise/ as being a vniuersitie most playnteously furnished and occupied with great learned men / shoulde be called the headde vniuersitie of the worlde/ might not ỹ name of supremacie be fitte for it / being chief among other vniuersities/ yes doubtles. But let vs come nerer to the mater. If a man/ whan he had set one man to gouerne the hole housholde/ wherin inasmuche as he had a great sorte of yong men / whom he wolde fayne haue taught and instructed in good artes / and wolde provide many scholemaisters / and among

ether/ ther were one man excellently wel learned aboue the rest/ whom/ as a notable man among other/ he wolde call the chief of all the scholemaisters that he had gotten: and to whose instruccion he wolde committe/ those that he setteth most by: hathe not he/ seing he is chief scholemaister/ the supremacie? yes. ffor the chief person can not chose/ but haue chief rule in any mater: ffor these two wordes/ Primus, which is furst/ principall/ or chief/ & Primatus, which is chief rule/ preeminence/ and is here rightly englished/ supremacie/ are coniugata, that is to saye/ lynked to gether/ the one depending of the other/ not only in speache/ but also in mater. Neuertheles this question maye be asked: he/ of whom I spake/ ȳ chief scholemaister in this household/ if ther shoulde fall any controuersie/ touching maners/ or ordre/ whether of their autorities shoulde be estemed aboue the other/ his/ vnto whom the household was committed/ or his/ that is callad to instruete the youthe? he that is called the chief/ as I saide/ and therfore he hathe the supremacie.
Who doubteth/ but his rowme is the greater/ that hathe charge of the household? why so? ffor it stōdeth most with reason/ because ordre is somtyme chaunged by relacion. And that/

which in one relacion is supreme and chief / in an other or in a cõtrary relaciõ / hathe somtyme an inferiour place / and often tymes the lowest place of all. And so God ye sonne / is equal with the father / after his divinitie / but he is lesse thã the father / after is humanitie.

Also God the sonne / in that he is God / is in ye begynnyng / and is the begynnyng it selfe: but in that he is the sonne of God / he is the seconde person in nombre: albeit without all consideracion of tyme / he is without begynnyng as God the father is. But to fette examples / out inferiour maters: Do we not see all one man to vse diuerse offices at home / like Arithmeticall figures / now to occupie the furst and chief rowme / than the seconde / afterwarde the thrid / & somtyme a lower rowme / as the cause / wherin he is occupied / and place / wher company meteth / doo require? Doo we not see him / that sitteth highest amõg iudges / and for that cause / is called / the chief iudge / whan he is required / to be present in extraordinarie iudgementes / as it is often sene / placed after others in the thrid or fourthe rowme? But in divine offices / I pray you / how great a supremacie as I maye to call it / hathe the chappelayne ouer his maister / as long as he is in divine ministracion? And yet

whan he is out of the place/ and cast of his gai=
re/ he leaueth his supremacie behynde him.
And it is no marbail. ffor in this cace/the ma=
ter stondeth so/that who so mindeth to reteyne
the name of the chief person & chief office still/
must not swarue from the thinge/wherunto ye
nume was applyed and setto. Therfore to re=
turne vnto examples. Admitte/ther were a fa
mous chief Phisician/ that is to saye / were as
conning in Phisike as any man/and so/becau=
se the mater so requireth it/he kepeth still / his
preeminence/yea Sir / but while he meddleth
with Phisike: But forasmuche as ther is an o=
ther maner of office in the administracion of ye
common weale / let him be contēt also with his
seconde forme / & stryue not to beare rule ouer
other/because he is the chief Phisician: nether
let him take autortie vpon him to be a cōmaun=
der of the rest of the Phisicianes / which is not
geuen him in his preeminence / not because he
coulde not geue it hī / which so preferred him /
but because it was not his pleasur to geue it hī/
for it was no reason why he shoulde: or elles
which is the forest thinge to speake of all/ why
he did not: Mary Sir / because he made him
not absolutely chief/but he called him the chief
Phisician. Admitte also a curious counyng

payntour/to be chief payntour / let him stryve also to continue still in his chief payntourship / lest an other passe him in connyng/ and so have the name of chief payntour from him / because he is more worthy than he. Let the vniuersitie of Parrise reioyce not so muche of the honour of the name/ as to studie to make it good / that it attributed by the name. ffinaly let this schole maister / which is called to teache children / because the good man of the house thought not the person of the mā/ but the vertue hidden vnder the person / worthye the honour of chief scholemaister/remembre and remembre again/ that he is not honoured/but burthened with ỹ name / and let him study rather according to ỹ the intēt of the name/ to shewe him selfe chief/ in the office of teaching/than to abuse the vayne title of a name/and as though he were chief absolutely without condicion / yet neclecting his office/and so losing his supremacie / to contende and stryve/about the name and terme of it / with them / that as being set in autoritie to gouerne the householde/ haue the true and absolute supremacie in dede: and to myngle Godes maters/ and the worldes maters together/ so that he maye ouercome/by right or by wrōg/ and haue it as him lusteth: as for his function

office / he taketh no more thought for / but is holly bent in that. As it appeareth now for a great while / that the bishoppes of Rome haue done / which not regarding those thinges / that were added vnto Petres supremacie / and accõplishing the name of supremacie being annexed vnto som certain poyntes of office / as they accõplishe all thinges / they haue propounded the bare name vnto the worlde / that they might be taken for chief / yea / and chiefer than the chiefest: not remembring in the meane tyme / how / in all other maters / they are inferiour to the lowest that is. Here I doo not compare / the faultes of the men with the condiciõ of the cause / wherin I might haue very large mater to speake / I knowe / they are not alwayes good men / that beare the swige / and yet the naughtynes of the man dothe not hynder his autoritie. I knowe this also / ẏ we haue all synned / & nede the grace of God. But as concerning / ẏ which is annexed vnto the cause / cã not be kepte in silence / lest any man caste this sayeng of Paule in my dishe / that / in the same I preache to others / I my selfe be founde to blame. For how great lacke I fynde in my selfe in myne owne office doing / myne owne conscience knoweth. But who is it / that shalbe founde a

& as you do yet except it be wt ẏ poysõ of popish hereties good mẽ haue not all way ẏ rule. ẏ is as true as the Gospell: for you are as bade as nede deth to be. For so ẏ you haue amẽded the mater gayly sithence ẏ tyme.

faithfull stuarde/ as Paule saithe: who also in the same place speaketh further: Iudge not before the tyme come. Therfore will not I wade in this mater/ any broader nor further/ thā cause requireth: ꝑ is/as modestly as I cā w̄ ꝑ truthe/ to reselle him ꝑ calleth hī selfe chief vntruly/ & to wishe him this at least/if nothing elles/ ꝑ he maye be chief in those titles/ wherin he ought to be chief/ that he might worthily be called the chief/ and wherī Petre was/ by whō he claimeth the supremacie to him self/as by succession. Wherfore let him now excelle othters/ in confessing Christ/ & let him so ferre be worthily taken for chief amonge all men/ euen by the lawe of Godde: which if Boniface had perceaued/ he nedde not to haue goten that/ by pri
Phocas uilege of Phocas themperour/ as it had ben by beggīg/which by ꝑ assistence of Goddes grace/ he might haue wonne to him selfe by him selfe. Moreouer let the Bishop of Rome be chief in teaching and preaching Christ a fore other/ & so longe let him hāue the supremacie of that kīde of office. But what a folye were it/ whan many are rūnyng in a race/that som one shoulde wine by his ambicious importunitie muche fauour of the lokers on/wher he/being appoīted in dede to runne amonge others/ whan he

is now either made lame through his owne faulte/ or otherwise vnmete to rūne/yet shalbe reported/that he ouerrunne them al/and came furst of all to the pricke / wher as saying that he came out in apparail made to rūne withall/ he sitteth him downe amonge the lokers on/ & clowteth a toorde as for any other cōsideracio of his requestes / he allegeth non / but that he was borne & bredde of thē (on Goddes name) wher in tymes past were the best runners/and were therfore called the chief. A goodly reason forsothe / and worthye of him / that is ioyous of bayne and false titles / and contenteth him selfe/to be flattred/ aboue measure. But like as a sure frēde/if he had any wold not only wisshe hi better minde/ but also wolde turne him/ if he might by right admonicion/ from that foolishe desire of priuilege: and tell him / what a very folye it is/for a man/haue a mīde to be named & called that in woordes / which he is not in very dede. euen so wolde I also wisshe vnto the bishoppes of Rome / whom it is manifest / haue ben in like sorte affected (I will not ouershote my woordes) & yet still at this present (as I heare) surcesse not their olde cākred minde: that they were counsailed of som bodye/not to contēde to be called supremes/as longe as they

are still postremes: But if their delight were to be so called / they should see / by what thinges that title was gotten / and by what thinges / it was proprely attributed. For like as in a well ordred citie / those that are chief in riches / are not therfore chief in autoritie: euen so in Christes churche / they are not put ī autoritie aboue other / that excede other in pōpe / lordely estate and riches. And therfore if the supremacie of ye churche of Rome in tymes past / with great cōsent of the worlde / stode / in ye office of preachīg Goddes worde / if in advaunceing the cure and charge of Christes name if ī prōpte valeaūtnes of mynde / to defende the truthe / and to kepe ye faithe of Christ frō heresies / as it is most playne that in those dayes it did / whan the bishops of Rome (yea almost non but they) at the furst begynning of the spring of the churche / were diligent to heale the furour of tyrannes rageīg against christian people: I wene / ther is neuer a christen prince in the worlde / but if he sawe the bishoppes of Rome / contende about that supremacie faithfully / that they might godly and zelously passe all other bishoppes (that ye churche of Christ / wher so euer it is scattred / hathe) in godlynes in faithe / and religious deuocion / and wolde stryve to goo so ferre before / that in

Nou he brīgeth ī hresies & so doo you wt your pestilent masses & other such.

this race they might be worthily called ỹ furst. If the princes/ I saye/ might see this in them/ they wolde with good will / call them by those true names/ that they sawe with their eies: & him that they spied to be furst/ they wolde call chief/ in that matche game: and in that kyndr of supremacie/ they wolde reverence him with due honour/ according to his vertue. And with this opinion / semeth our elders were induced (which openion also dured vnto our tyme) ỹ they wolde geue ỹ bishoppes of Rome wages/ for their paynes / which called them selues the seruauutes of Goddes seruauntes, not only in name/ as they doo now/ but mater in dede in those dayes. Howbeit the name of a seruaũte/ signifieth a seruice. ffor a seruaunt commaundeth not his labours to be set out / but he setteth them asale/ as it were in an open place/ to provoke som body to hyre him. Wherin notwithstonding/ som make such a shewe of their labours/ in commending their diligence and fidelitie / and make them so sale kene / that they cause many to be desirous of them: and bringe them in that mynde/ that/ whan their busynes might bothe better and more spedily be dispatched at home/ yet they thinke / nothing can be comly nor well done/ without their counsail.

Loke how hipocrysie cãbegile men of simple wittes.

And forasmuche as we see that dayly chaunce / in sondry kindes of craftesmen / & in euery trifling mater: it is no marvaill/though it be so in religion/wherin/all men wishe/ that all thinges were ordred / according to the most perfite example/wherin for all that/many men partly distrust their owne wittes/ partly vse currupte wittes/in that/they esteme straũge ware more than domesticall stuf: no man ought/I saye/to thinke it any marvaill / though the glorions name of the churche of Rome / beinge at that tyme famous in excellent vertue/drawing and alluring almost all the partes of the worlde/in to admiracion of it / for vertues sake/ which is the most sure bonde/knyt all men to it/and caused that churche/whom al men might see so notably vertuous / to be reverenced / as the chief & principall churche among other. And Godly mẽ beautified it also with those names/ẘ ẏ Romishe bishoppes make boast of to the worlde / as though they were set furthe by oracle from God/ to the supremacie withall/not the supremacie of vertue/but the supremacie of power/ and that earthly / an externe & a fleshly power/ such a one as Christ neuer exercised/ nor committed it at any tyme to any manne to exercise/ as ferre as we maye gather out of holy scriptu-

res. Wherout notwithstōding/seing som men haue piked out som thinges/ wherwith they wolde confirme it to be commaunded and or= dayned of Christ/ wherunto the people and ỹ princes/ wolde euen of their owne voluntary will/ because of their great vertue/ wherwith they were allured/as it had ben mē drawne vp with an admounde ston/ wolde haue graunted them/that is/that they wolde not only honour and reuerence that churche of Rome/ and the bishop therof/ but also advaunce thē with tho= se titles: which godly affeccion is wont to diuise and vttere/wherin good mē doo somtyme erre: yet forasmuche/as bycause many men haue set furthe many bokes touchīg this mater/ and by reason of mutuall conflicte of men reasonyng with it and againſt it/ it is more than manifeste that those place of scripture/ are wrested from their true and propre meaning/to defende that autoritie/ I though it not mete/ to doo that is done already/and in makīg rehersall of them/ to make men thinke/ I had geuen them a pigge of an others mānes sowe. Wherin the meane space/ lest I should seme to cast awaye al men= nes wrytinges/ I doo not so muche contende a= bout the supremacie so they racke it out no fur= ther/thā it appeareth to be mēt frō ỹ beginnig.

But this I vtterly denye / that God ordayned the bishop of Rome to be the chief/as touching any absolute worldly power: of this is the question/in this point the hole cause consisteth.

In this mater/ I wene/ I haue made it playne ynough/that Christes dedes stãde on our side/ and that ꝑ name of supremacie vsurped of our elders maketh nothing againſt vs: and that the title/ having a right interpretaciõ ioyned vnto the power/which the bishop of Rome claimeth now to him selfe/ maketh nothing for his purpose / and moreouer / that the prerogatiues / ẅ God gaue vnto Petre / crownyng his owne giftes in him/helpe ꝑ Bishoppe of Romes cause nothig at all: which : prerogatiues were not geuen vnto flesshe and bloud/but to be a testimonie of that exellent profession of his faithe.

And such wolde God (whose liberall goodnes dothe neuer waste) geue yet still/vnto these bishoppes of Rome / if they folowed the example of Petres faythe.

But if the bishoppes of Rome goo about/to kepe in state still and holde vp ꝑ decayes of their power(whose bulding was naught/and therfore hath wryed on the one side longe a goo) ẅ proppes and stayes/diuised by mannes braine/ rather thẽ to let it shrynke downe to that state/

You are a good sone for teachig your father so good a lessõ as nether of you taketh hede to.

that the truthe were hable to defende & beare out: well/beware lest they catche a sorer fall/I will gesse no sorer a thinge. Only let them cõsidre/that at leynght truthe hathe the victorie/ and that the light of the Gospell / is now come in place of darkenes: and that the light reprooveth the thinges that are not allowable. All mẽ see/what these wordes of ỹ Gospel meane. Thou arte Petre, and vpon this rocke will I buylde my churche. When perceave the misteries / bothe of Christes three tymes asking of Petre/ of Petres thrise denyeng/and of the payeng of tribute money for him/ It is vnderstandẽ at this present/what it is/to be the chief of the apostles: & what it is/ to fede the shepe/ whom God geueth charge of: this gaire almost euery body hathe in their mouthes. Yea/som crye out/that they haue ben iuggled withal and deceaved. And (as their nature & dispositiõ is) som speake lesse / and more temperatelye than som. and som ther be also / which/perceaving they haue ben so lõge/falsely begupled/as muche as they can refrayne / saye neuer a worde for shame. Wel/al sortes of people/are agreed vpon this poĩt/with most stedfast consent: learned and vnlearned/bothe men & women / that no maner of person / borne and brought vp in

It were best for you to take this coũsail also

Mat. xvj: ỹ light of ỹ Gospell came in/ whan ỹ bish. of Ro. wa drynen out.

Thā as many as receaue ẏ truthe hauenot a doo wꝫ ẏ bish. of Ro.

Englande/hathe ought to doo wꝫ Rome. Al maner of people/receauīg and embraceīg ẏ truthe/ doo with one hole cōsent/acknowlage/honour and reuerence the kinge for the supreme heade of the churche vpon earthe. They bidde the bisshop of Rome farewell: whose labour/how so euer it hathe ben receaued in tymes past/ euen so now as vnprofitable and discommodious/ they haue no more deuocion to it/ as a thing/ wherin a man shoulde haue no deuociō/ but to turne such a chappelayn/ out of the dores/will he nyll he/as beīge hyred or prayed to ministre divine service/hathe not shewed him selfe faithfull and diligente/in his office/vnto them/that he shoulde haue loked to haue receaued his wages of/ for his paynes taken. For a man had rather haue a faithfull seruaunt to ministre in dede/ in whose name/the true token of doing/ which is the right vse of calling/maye appeare: than in stede of a seruaunt to haue one/ that taketh vpon him to be lorde of lordes/in his doīges/though in the meane space/ he calleth him selfe seruaunt of seruauntes.

And yet all men/ for christian charites sake/ praye for him and wishe him wel/amonge whō I am one specially: that Paule ẏ now is/ may so excelle his predecessours in Saint Paules gi-

stes/ that / like as Saint Paule hathe comprie-
hended all the mysteries of our religion/in one
only epistle / to the Romaynes: so this Paule
maye now write from Rome / to them that be
vnder his obedience/suche thinges/as tende to
the true glorie of Christ / and concerne the ad-
vaumcement of faithe / rather than such ware/
as hathe crept in to ỹ worlde/these yeares past/
from those highe potẽtates and stoare houses.
To be shorte / God sende him good life / and
well to fare in the lorde.

But I wil returne to my purpose:that is/ that
I maye move all men to obedience/which only
in ỹ cõmaũdemẽtes of God/& for Goddes sake/
maketh vs happie & blessed. And cõmaũdemen-
tes of God/are cleare/ & lightẽ our eies/ ỹ we
stõble not in darkenes:they are righteous/they
are honest/ they are also not only profitable al-
wayes to the life bothe of soule and body / but
also necessarie/and not sore nor hearde to be ob
serued/for they haue a respecte vnto the poke/ ỹ
they deteyne and kepe still in labour / yea but
with a sweatnes/they are a burthen/ but yet a
lighteone. ffor it commeth to passe by the grace
of God / which is made by Jesus Christ / that
thinges impossible vnto the flesshe/are accompli
shed by the spirite with chearefulnes/ by love /

ỹ same
we wol
de pray
for you
but tha
your ol
abstina
te wil-
fulnes
maketh
vs afra
de to
pray fo
you.
Goddes
worde
pure th
truthe
maketh
not me
hereti-
quesbu
kepeth
thẽ frõ
heresye

that is powred in our heartes/by ỹ holy gooſt/
which is geuen vs/ and ſeing we are now re=
newed in the ſpirite of our mynde/ and become
ſpirituall: we may ſaye with Saint Paule:
We are hable to doo all thinges in him, that
ſtreynghtneth vs, that is to ſaye/ Chriſt.
Ther is no cauſe than/to make vs afraude/ of
the weightye importaunce of the thing/ which
Mẽnes through the benefite of Chriſt/ by meanes of
interpre his moſt precious and moſt glorious deathe/ is
tacions made moſt eaſie/to thẽ/ w̃ acknowlageig their
not to be weakenes of fleſhe/ committe thẽ ſelves holly
folowed to Goddes truſt/through obediẽce/ with a ſure
confidence in God. Let vs therfore make vs/
J beſe= ready/ to obey God in his preceptes/which/as
che god/ they be not harde/ſo they are not many in nom
kepe his bre. He ỹ loveth his neighbour(ſaithe Paule)
worde hathe fulfilled the lawe: what can be ſpokẽ mo=
frely a= re briefly/or knitte vp in leſſe rowme? And be=
nõge vs cauſe this worde (love) hathe an iterpretaciõ/
ẽ than we muſt nedes afore all thinges/ folowe that
your interpretaciõ/which is ſet furthe in ſcriptures/
nyſor= by him/ that made the lawe and publiſhed it.
re ſhal= Let vs than folowe the ordre/ that God hathe
e ſpied preſcribed/ and not goo about with our inter=
well y= pretacton/ to cõfounde and peruerte the mem=
nough. bres of his body the churche/which he hathe ſet

in ordre & disposed in particulares accordigly / that one in the congregacion shoulde teache / and an other haue the preeminēce / which is appointed to princes / and forsakīg and neclecting those thinges / which either mennes wisedome or subtill brayne hathe invented / let vs folowe the truthe it selfe: let vs obey it / let vs doo after it / which only maketh true obedience.

And here I coulde haue made an ende of my tale / had not som folkes folishe wordes ben / ẏ had almost pulled me downe backewarde and enforced me to rendre accōpt of my selfe / what caused me to be so hardye / as to write one word de / concerning any maner of obediēce / namely true obedience / seing I neuertheles / entrepri-sing to teache obedience / disclose myne owne disobedience / and geue the onsette against his power and autoritie / for whose defense I was called ones to be a patrone / and boundē by myne othe to defende and maītene his autoritie to my possible power: wher is the keping of othes become / saye they: Wher is fidelitie: What maye a man beleve now a dayes: Whō maye a man trust: ffor he was made a bishop and by the priuilege of the Bishop of Rome / admitted in to the ordre of Bishoppes / and consecrated by his commaundement / and swore vpon the

Loke how good counsai ẏ tray- tour ge ueth & yet wil nether folowe it hī sel fe nor suffre other.

holy euangelistes to defende the rightes of the churche of Rome: all which thinges he willigly and with al his hearte obeyde/and permised to performe. Lo/saye they/euen the very selfe same man/ to the most horrible example of breache of his fidelitie/ and forgotting the solemne othe/he made/or if not through forgotefulnes/ yet (which is the worse of the twoo) having contemned and defied his othe and fidelitie/ he professeth him selfe an open enemye of the churche of Rome/and to shote his poysoned shaftes the more surely agaist it/he borroweth a pece of artillary as it were of obedience/and thinketh he lyeth closely in covert/ as though his sides were ouerhilled/whan for all that/ he lyeth open and naked to al mennes sightes/bothe like a fole and a naughty man. Such mẽ/as wil take on this sorte/I am afraide/ꝛ in great doubt/ how I shall satisfie them. ffor they will allege perhappes/to amende the mater withall/ a certaĩ preiudice of soule/I wote not what/wherwith their mynde being blowne full/ they will spue out that that I shall speake/euen as it were a vessell being toppe full of water/ that receaveth no more liquor/whã it is poured vpõ. But they ẏ shall heare these mennes talke/and than on the other side will indifferently reade

my saieng/with an emptie and free minde/and not all ready brynke full: I doubt not/ but I shall shewe vnto them / and persuade them so/ that their wordes as weyghtye as men thinke them (in dede they accuse me of periurie and slaundre (cōdemne them for false reporters/ ẏ speake them: and that they ought no more to move me / against whom they be reported/ than the blombling sounde of an olde barel/as they saye. For in othes or promises/the forme ought not so muche to be respected/as ẏ mater. But let a mā/saye/sweare/or promise as faithfully as he can / that thing that he ought not to doo nor performe/ ẏ promise shall not be abouc the nature of the mater selfe:nether shall ẏ forme in these cases/ chaunge the condicion of the mater/but the faithfully made othe/if it be starke naught/or not good/ is better broken/ than vnder pretense of the othe / as though it were the bōde of widkednes / it shoulde be perfourmed & kept: onles we must be persuaded/ that constauncie is commendable in naughtie and and peruerse maters / and that it is a greater faulte to turne agayn in the mydde waye than still to runne alwayes naught. And for the more cleare demonstracion of this mater / I take this to be the most fitte example. A certain ma-

vnlaufull othes no to kept How shoulde folishe or vnlafull vowes be bound to be kept whan such othes are not?

ried man/whan he thought by moſt iuſt likely=
hodes / that his furſt wife had bē vndoubtedly
deadde: as a man that had bē free from maria =
ge/ by the autoritie of the churche / toke ano=
ther woman / which was a faire damoyſell/ & thought to be a mayde/ to wife by cōſent of her parentes: by whō/ after they had dwelt a fewe yeares together/and he had childrē by her: Lo/ his former wife vnloked for/came againe/as it were peeping behinde the poſt. Well/ ſhe re=quireth to haue her huſbande agayn / that had done evil in marieng an other woman. Than ỹ man being aſtonyed at that / as a mater all=moſt incredible/and dryven at the furſt to denie her to be his wife: than to aſke her what tokēs ſhe coulde tell him / and laſt of all / becauſe he was wonderous lothe to be divorced from her/ that he had maried the later / to make as longe delayes as he coulde: and at leinght to cal her to the lawe/ & ther to make al the ſhifte he coulde/ to defende his ſeconde wifes cauſe. But whan he was caſt/he gaue place to the truthe/and ta=keth his furſt wife to him agayn by the iudge=ment of the churche. In this cace now/if the woman / that he maried laſt be iuſtely put frō him/or for ſorowe and heavines ſpeakig neuer a worde / her Parentes or frendes wolde crye

An exā=ple/ſat=ched not farre of.

out: Out vpon mennes maners: out vpon it/ what a worlde is this: & after this sorte wolde make suche a like wondrement/ as these mẽ seme to vse against me: thow helhounde/ thou wicked couenaunt breaker/ doest thou forsake and cast of this woman now/ vnto whom thou madest ones so faithfull a promise in the open face of the churche/ whan God him selfe was a present witnesse: hast thou forgotẽ the wordes which thou spakest in the temple/ the ministre of God rehearsing them vnto the/ in the presences of so many people/ this woman/ ỹ thou hast now shamefully cast vp/ being present/ & making couenaunt & promise to the in like sorte agayne: Diddest not thou ones desire vs for her/ and madest muche entreatie to haue her to thy wife/ and promisedest vs vpon thy othe/ ỹ thou woldest vse her as the good wife of thy house for euer/ and neuer to forsake her during thy lyfe: Arte thou not ashamed/ seig thou hast suche children by her/ to cast her of now/ as though she were an whore: and now whan thou leavest her to take her parte/ that caused the to be divorced frõ her: Wher is the keping of othes become: wher is fidelitie: what maye a man beleve now a dayes: whom maye a mã trust: The husbande forsaketh the wife.

Which maner of communictcion/as it maye be borne withall in the womans heavynes/bothe for the great grief of her present calamitie/ and because she is the weaker vessell/ euen so whan it is spoken of other mennes mouthes / which wolde haue folkes to thīke/they speake pithily/ it wolde make men thinke/they were starke foles / and in open company / euery body wolde laughe at them / and in triall of lawe noman couldc abyde them. But after a certain space/if a man wolde answer ẏ womau: and saye: woman you doo not well to accuse him / that you want now to be your husbande and defendour: ffor what faulte fynde you now in him? ffor as longe as the farther wife helde her awaye / he loved you/he honoured you / he vsed you as his wife: yea so muche/that whā the furst wife came agayne/whō he thought had ben deadde/ he was not rashe in geuing credence vnto her / nor sodaynly assented vnto her: he coulde doo no more for your sake / than he did. If he had fallen to whores / and so forsaken you / your querell had ben somwhat. But now/what cast you him in ẏ tethe/with faithe breaking/which to kepe his faithe/departed from you/and kept him to that other wife/that he had laufully maried before? Why doo you complayne still? the

woman/ I wene/wolde geue ouer: in dede she had no cause to complayne. ¶ If she had not bē a mayden/ as she was takē for/but an evill dispo sed womā/ & had occasioned this mānes first wi fe/to be sent in to some ferre ylondes /to haue this mā to her husbāde in ỹ meane tyme/ & cau sed ỹ furst mariage to be brokē: whether shoul= de be thought to be more in the faulte? this mā/ ỹ maried (as he thought) rightly/were in no faulte: and the subtyll womā wherein ỹ greatest faulte / as one ỹ delighted to haue an other wo mās husbande. And if a mā wolde consider this gaire/shal he not see/as it were in a glasse/ ỹ ve ry ymage of ỹ husbāde in me. ffor in dede I/ seing I beleved/ ỹ no suche truthe of obediēce/ had bē / or if it had bē sought for/ I wolde ne= uer haue founde it: I coupled myselfe in secōde couenaūt/ & therto plighted my trouthe/ w̄ whō I thought I had laufully dwelt & kept laufull cōpany wall: But whan the truthe came/ w̄ is euery mānes furst wife/ maried to hī in baptis= me/ w̄ will require the furst promyse/at all mē= nes hādes to her I applyed/ to her I cleaved: & frō my secōde knotte / as of nō affecte/by ỹ iud gemēt of my churche/I departed. And shall any man thinke it indifferent / that I shall be called a lyer/ because I obey the truthe? Because I

Saye youtrue doo you loue chaūge of wo= men/ as he did?

So me thīketh you for= gote it now a= gayne. I pray you lose it not/ now it is foūde to your hande.

& so doo maried priestes goo frō their seconde knotte & folowe yiudgemēt of Goddes wrode / wherby his churche is gouerned: W sayth To avoide fornicaciō let euery mā haue his owne wife. Hearkē to your omne reason my lor-

serue God / in obeyeng my Prince / yt I shalbe reported to be a contemner of the sacramentes / or an othe breaker? And that / that is fondly layed to the husbandes charge / after he is divorced / because he performed not his promyse / that he ought not to haue made: shall that in this cause be grevously and earnestly tromped in my waye / because I am by most graue iudgement of the truthe / divorced from the churche of Rome / which it was not laufull for me to kepe still and am compelled to take my wyfe Truthe to me / whan she commeth agayne at leyngth peeping behynde the scrine / & to cleave cōstauntly vnto her? If he coulde teache me / yt she is not the truthe / whom / I haue receaved for my wyfe / clayming againe my furst promyse (as he shall neuer doo it) let him call me by what names he will. But yf he will let that passe / and make a doo about the othe / it is to be feared / lest all men will begynne to abhorre that subtyltie / which is grounded in makyng of othes agaynst the truthe. Therfore take awaye the othe from the cause / for the othe ought to be a seruaūt of truthe / & cā not nor ought to be preiudiciall vnto the truthe. He that by his othe promiseth vnlauful thinges / dothe not right: but he that m

keth an vnlauful othe/ and gothe on stil to put it in execuciō/ thrusteth downe him selfe deper and deper/ from whence he can neuer escape/ except he cō out arsewarde. Wherfore it were to great an absurditie/ that a man shoulde be compted to doo a notorious crime/and to dishoneste and shame him selfe/ in that point/wherī he goeth about to doo better. And according to this consideraciō/it is decreed/that not so muche as by ẏ ciuile lawes/a mā is bounden to performe vnhoneste or vnlaufull promyses/ lest it might be though/ that these lawes doo rather commende perseueraunce in crymes/ than repentaunce. And in the ecclesiasticall decrees/ it is also established/ that no man is bounden to perfourme an vnlaufull othe/ seinge an othe cā not bynde a man to wickednesse. This only reasoneth/that whā these men/ ẅ accuse me of periurie/are driuen backe/that they cā laye no more periurie to my charge/ they wil go about to burthen me ẅ vnadvised temeritie/ for promising by mine othe/ ẏ was not lauful forme to perfourme. Well Sir/but I thought it had bē laufull/ and not I alone/ but ẅ ẏ iudgemēt of many men. ffor ẏ worde of Truthe/lyeng thā buried a lōge season/ was thought to be no let. But now whā she is come home agayne/ & hath

Doc tor dubbleface.

They are lesse hurteful thā you/ for they ōly speake euil/ but you both say euil & do worse.

Me thinketh you shoulde be ashamed to speake against priestes maiage/ if this reason be

true/as

it is i de the confirmed her selfe vnto me by so many pro
de/ ye ues/ it is euen she/ why shoulde I not embrace
make mine owne true wife/ euen Dame Truthe her
here. selfe/ vnto whō I plighted my trouthe/ & in ye
accōplishement of ye same/ ther is non offense/
Than a muche lesse any notorious cryme? well/ ther is
mā may no cause/ why I shoulde be afrayde of other fol
make an kes euil reportes/ as lōge as Idoo my duetie to
vnaduy her alone/ & according to her mynde/ obeye my
sed vo= price/ ye supreme headde in earthe of ye churche
we/ af= of Englaude/ & thā doo myne endeuour/ to ac=
ter xxj. complishe ye other partes of true obedience/ wh
yeares/ belong properly to a christen man/ so as whā I
beig vn haue passed ouer ye pilgrimage of this life/ in o=
learned bedience & truthe/ I maye obteyne eternal life/
seig you ye autor & gever wherof/ is Jesus Christ/ who/
a mische to drawe al vnto ye father/ obeiēg ye father in al
uous thīges/ suffred deathe for our saluaciō/ & bothe
wel ler= in worde/ & dede taught obediēce wh/ forasmuche
ned mā/ as it is full of truthe/ shal at leight ꝓmote all ye
madean faithfully sticke vnto it/ to ye very truthe selfe/
vnaduy wh is God blessed for euermore Amen.
sed othe
of your Afaire tale, a good tale, God quyte you for
age. your tale. Very wele sayed/ wele obeyed/ as
ye is sproken in ale.

FINIS.

Iacob iiij.
Purificate corda, duplices animo.
Eccle. ij.
Ve duplici corde.

¶ Resistaũce of ye Gospell/is a most manifest sygne of dampnacion.

The wrathe of God is reueled frõ heauen ouer all wickednesse & vnrightousnesse of mẽ/which witholdeth the truthe of God in falshede. Rom.j.
They are without excuse/in as muche as whã they knewe God/they glorified hĩ not as God/ neyther were they thãke full/ but waxed full of vanytes in their ymaginaciõs. And their folysh hartes were blinded. Whã they counted thẽselues wyse/ they became very foles/ &c.
All men obeye not the Gospell. Rom.x.
We are Christes good sauer to God/both amõ ge them ye are saued/ & also amonge them that perisheth. To the one sort/ we are the sauer of deathe vnto deathe. To the other sort/ are we the sauer of lyfe vnto lyfe. ij. Cor.ij.
If our Gospel be hyd/it is hyd to thẽ ye are lost/ whose mĩdes ye God of this worlde hath blĩded ij. Cor.iiij

for wāt of faythe/ least ẏ light of Christes glo=
rie ẇ is true knowledge / were manyfest vnto
them/which is Gods ymage..

Epe.iiij. Walke not as the paganes doo / in your owne
ymaginaciōs/all blīded in your owne deuises/
& voide of Gods wayes. ẇ euill chaūced to thē
by their ygnoraūce/and wilfull blyndenesse/to
wurke thynges to their dampnacion.

Phil.j. Continue in one sprete & faithe of the Gospell.
ffeare in no wyse the aduersaryes therof. for to
thē it is a tokē of perdiciō/ & to yow a sygne of
saluaciō/ & ẏ from God. ffor to yow is it gyuē/
not only to beleue in Christe/ but also to suffre
for his sake. his sake his sake

ij. God shall sende the vnbelevers strōge delusiō /
Thessa. ẏ they might beleve lyes/ & so be dāpned for re=
ij. fusīge ẏ truthe/ & cleauīge to vnrightwisnesse.

To mastar Reader

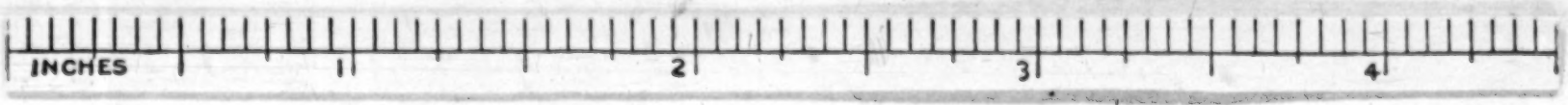
To the Readers Reader

I exhort yow dere bretherne/in ẏ feare of God
to trye all spretes/whether they be of God or=
naye.j. Joā.iiij. and consent not in your hartes
to wyckednesse/least ye perysh altogyther with
the wycked. ffor manye false prophetes are co=
me abroade in thys wicked age/ to brynge into
dampnable errour. if it were possyble/the very
electe. Math.xxiiij. Take Saīt Peters armour.

Resyste that busy deuil whych now compasseth
yow roũde about/ not with worldly weapon/
but with prayer. And be alwayes myghtye and
stronge in the faythe .j. Petre . v. praye that
Englande for vnthankefulnesse to God/be not
brought into suche a bondage and slauery / as
in Kynge Wyllyam Bastardes tyme. Marke
in the Chronyckles the prophecye of Saynt
Edwarde / concernynge the most vyle nacion.
ffewe wurdes maye suffise a man that hath
wytte/ a fole is neuer taught. Loke shortly
to haue frō me the practises of prelates/
compyled by Wyllyam Tyndale the
true martyr of God w̄ the aug
mentacions of Joā Bale/
& a plentuouse table
in y̆ ende ther=
of/to gyue
the more ample warnynge.
Thusfare thu wele in the lorde

lorde god

father and mother after
my moste harty commendaco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